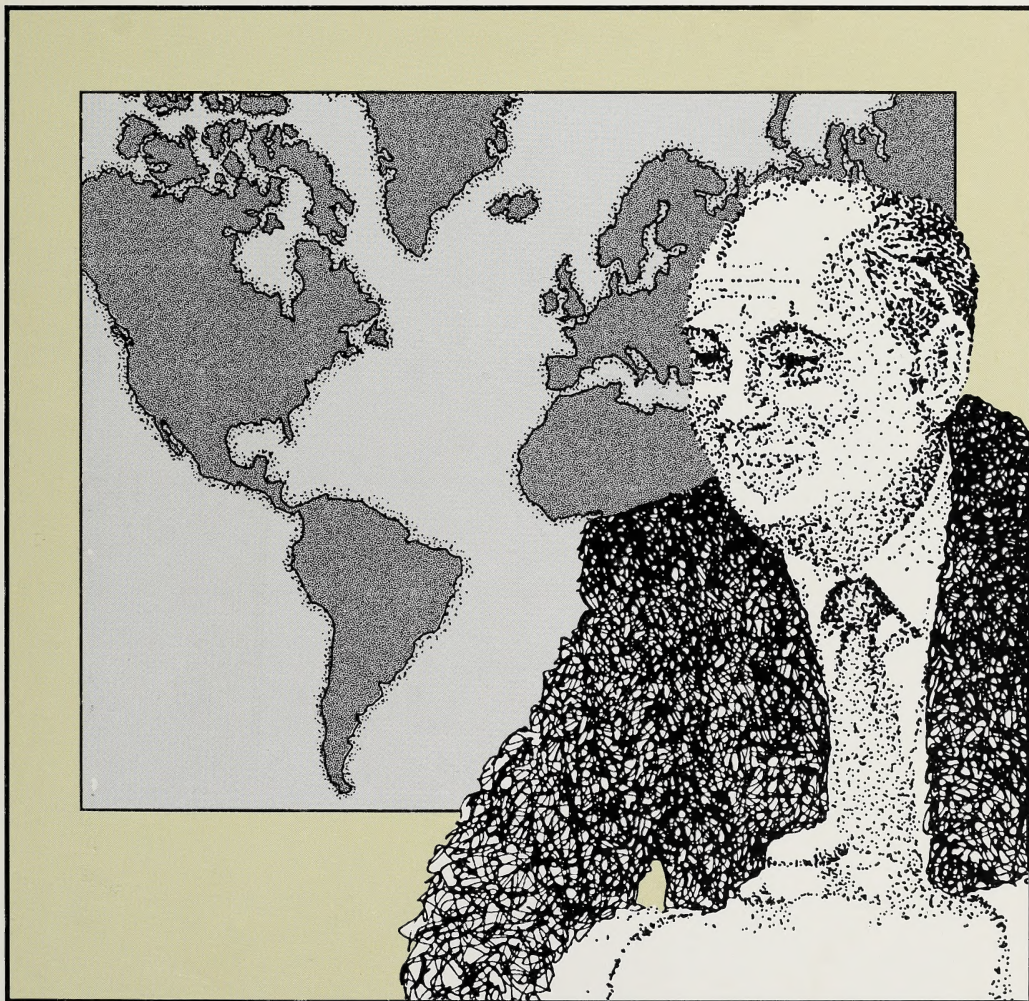




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MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY OF NATIONS 1963-PRESENT

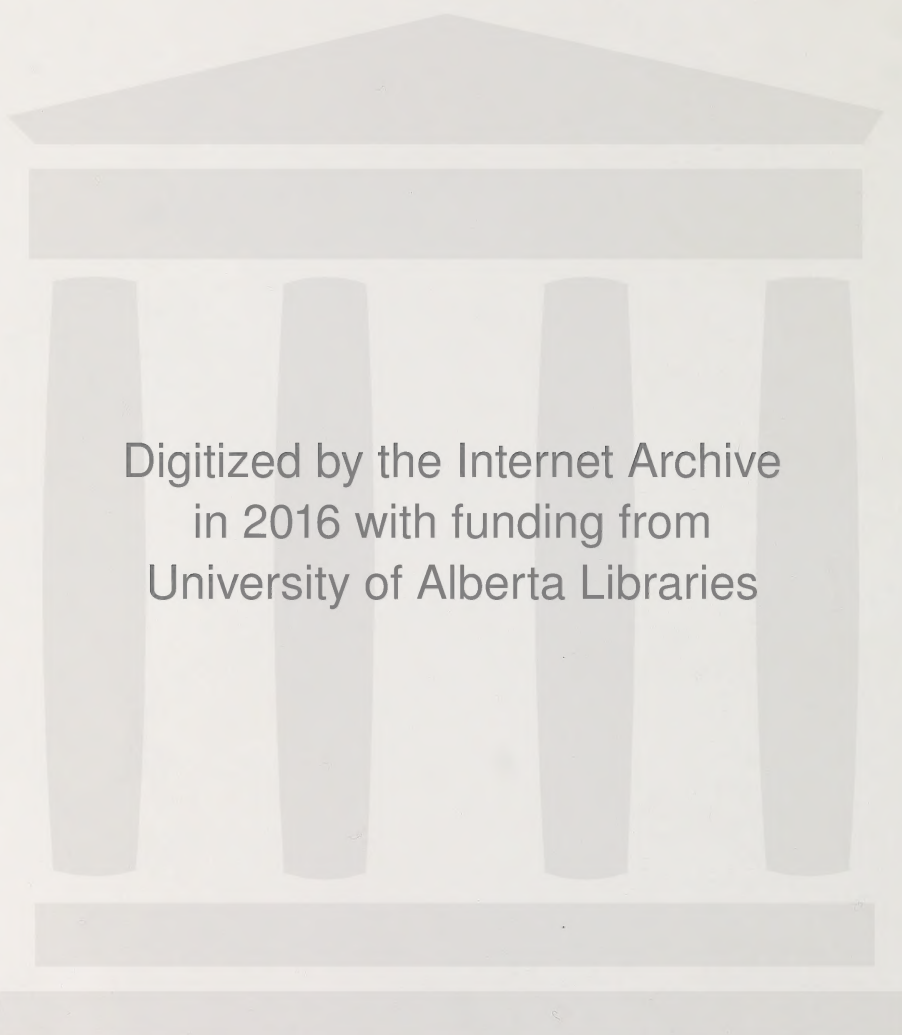


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Social Studies 30

Module 8

MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY OF NATIONS 1963 – PRESENT



**Distance
Learning**

Alberta
EDUCATION

Social Studies 30
Student Module
Module 8
Maintaining Peace and Security of Nations 1963 – Present
Alberta Correspondence School
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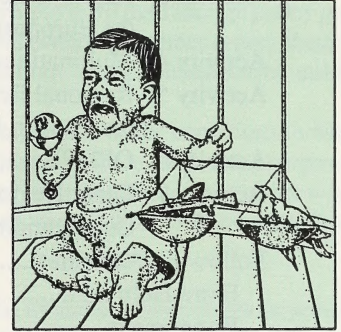
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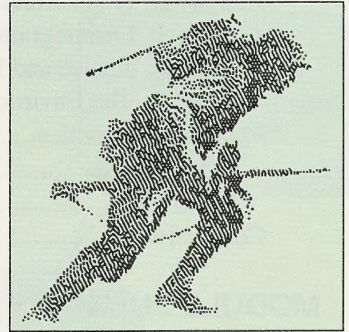
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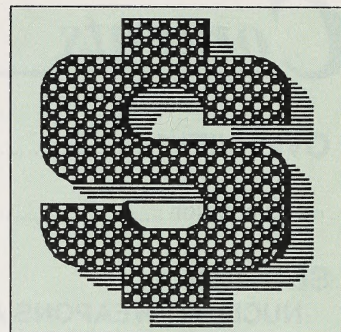


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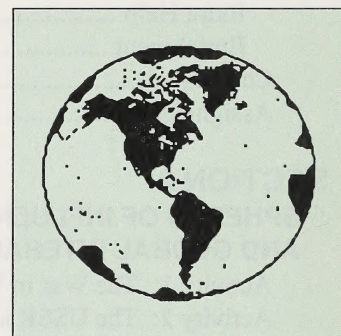


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OVERVIEW

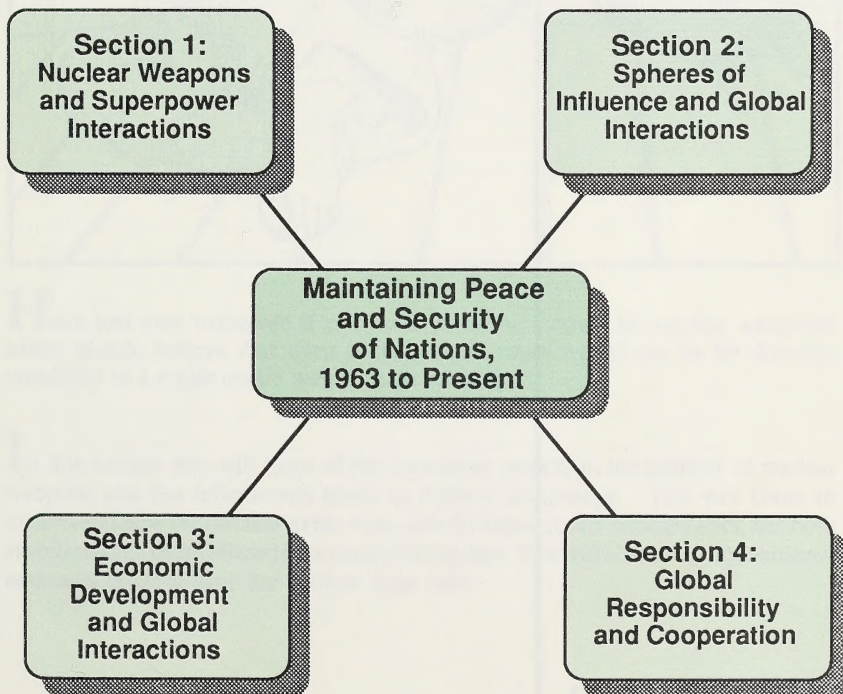
As a citizen, you are expected to set goals and establish guidelines to control your behaviour with other people. You will probably want to achieve your goals through cooperative effort. Yet you will undoubtedly experience obstacles to these goals. Inevitably, conflict will arise between you and the obstacles.

Nations experience this same process. They strive to fulfil their foreign policy goals through a variety of methods. Other nations and events sometimes create obstacles to these countries. Conflict—and often confrontation—arises from such relationships.

In international relations the superpowers dictate many of the conditions to which other countries must adapt in order to fulfil their goals. Since 1945, the superpowers have had direct and indirect impact on relations between all countries of the world. All nations have to deal with questions of peace, cooperation, and responsibility in the world.

At the end of the module you will be expected to make a decision about possible answers to the following questions:

- How can world leaders avoid a nuclear confrontation?
- What other measures can be taken to resolve Cold War conflicts?
- What could be done to create more regional and global cooperation?
- Should the United States and its allies continue to make nuclear weapons and improve military technology so that the Soviet Union does not gain the advantage?

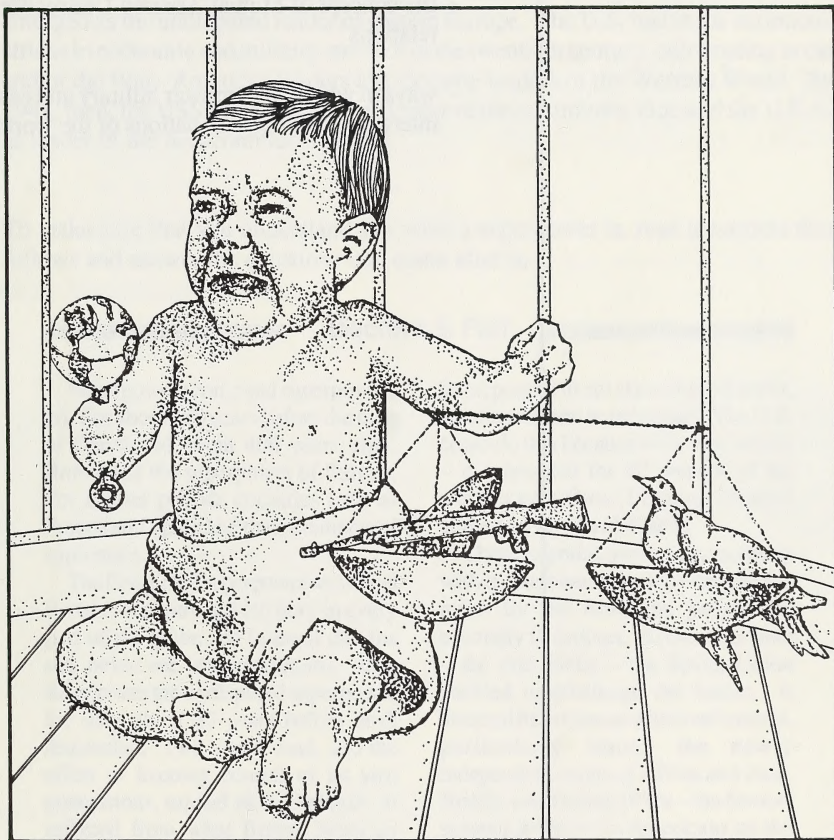


Evaluation

Your mark in this module will be determined by your work in the Assignment Booklet. You must complete all assignments. In this module you are expected to complete one section assignment and one final module assignment. The mark breakdown is as follows:

Section 1 Assignment	30%
Final Module Assignment	70%
TOTAL	100%

Nuclear Weapons and Superpower Interactions



Arms race: a contest between two or more nations competing with each other for military superiority

Stabilization: a situation of decreased danger of conflict and of greater international security

Destabilization: a situation in which nations feel less secure due to increased danger of conflict and misunderstanding

Have you ever wondered if your area would be a target for nuclear weapons? Many people believe that even if their small town would not be hit directly, proximity to a major centre would be devastating.

In this section you will learn of the enormous growth in the number of nuclear weapons and the refinements made in nuclear technology. You will come to understand how the nuclear **arms race**, chiefly between the superpowers, has both **stabilized** and **destabilized** international relations. You will also study international measures taken to limit the nuclear arms race.

After reading this section you should understand

- the development of nuclear weapons and its effects as both a stabilizing and destabilizing influence on superpower relations
- the balance of power between NATO and the Warsaw Pact
- the concept of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and its effect on global relations
- ways in which superpower military and economic strength have affected the interaction between all nations of the world

Activity 1: What Are Superpowers?

Superpower: a term applied currently to the U.S.A. and the USSR to distinguish them as the most powerful nations in the world, militarily and politically

The **superpowers** have been the dominant forces in international relations since World War II. As the imperial empires of England, France, and Germany fell apart, the power vacuum was filled largely by the capitalist U.S.A. and the communist USSR. As a result of wartime conferences at Yalta and Potsdam, the expansion of the Soviet empire, and growing military and industrial strength, the Soviet Union emerged as the undisputed leader of eastern Europe. The U.S. had made enormous strides in economic and military strength in the twentieth century, culminating at the end of the War. American leaders also became leaders of the Western World. By 1945, then, the USSR had emerged as leader of the communist bloc and the U.S.A. as leader of the non-communist world.

To make sure that you understand just what a superpower is, read the article that follows and answer the questions that come after it.



Decline & Fall

Superpowers come and superpowers go. For about 250 years before the time of Christ and about 400 years after, Rome was the superpower of Europe. For shorter periods countries such as France and Spain had their moments of supremacy.

The first global superpower was Great Britain. It controlled territory in every part of the globe and boasted that the sun never set on its Empire. But, Britain was the undisputed superpower for only about 25 years before dusk descended. Two world wars, and the effort of keeping control of its vast possessions, sapped all its strength. It suffered from what British historian Paul Kennedy calls “imperial overreach.”

The United States inherited the superpower mantle at the end of World War II. America saw its mission clearly; to bring capitalism and democracy to the rest of the globe. For two decades, the U.S. was the undisputed leader, and it played policeman for the world. It fought communism in Vietnam; propped up the defence of Western Europe; supported Israel against the hostility of every other Middle East

state; poured in aid after every disaster, whether natural or manmade. The U.S. could do this because of its vast wealth – it accounted for 40 percent of the world’s total Gross Domestic Product at the end of World War II.

Then, imperial overreach caught up with it. The commitments were just too much for the American people and economy to support. At the same time – the mid-1960s – the Soviet Union decided to challenge the leader. It directed its influence wherever it could, particularly among the newly independent states of Africa and Asia. Briefly – in the late 1970s – the Soviets seemed to have the Americans on the run and it looked as though a new superpower was about to rise.

But, imperial overreach very quickly caught up with Moscow too. (The Soviet Union may hold the world record for the shortest stay in first place). The Soviet economy could sustain the country’s global commitments only for a matter of months.

Now, the two nations that have dominated world politics for the last half century or so are in decline. The signs are everywhere.

The Soviet Union can't feed all its own people; it faces growing nationalist unrest among its own republics, particularly in the Baltic region; it can't produce the goods and services it needs in sufficient quantity or quality; it has withdrawn from most of its military adventures overseas.

There are just as many signs of decline in the fortunes of the United States. The country is being run on borrowed money; the quality of American education has been in decline for some time; American industry, which spends vast amounts of research dollars on developing new weapons, has lost its technology lead in the world (the United

States now accounts for only 16 percent of the world Gross Domestic Product); an epidemic of drug abuse and violence is undermining the social and spiritual base of the country.

The world is no longer dominated solely by the two superpowers; they have been joined by others. Japan, and Europe, are now members of the elite club at the top. China will likely get its membership card soon.

What kind of world we live in will depend upon how these five can work together in decision-making and burden-sharing. If any of them decides to make a play for sole possession of first place we can expect fireworks.¹



1. What two nations are known as superpowers?

2. From your reading of the preceding passage and your previous study of World War I, list the nations which were major powers from 1914 to 1919.

3. What events led to the emergence of the superpowers?

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the excerpt from *Canada and the World* "Decline & Fall," May, 1989 p. 13. Reprinted by permission of R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd.

4. What evidence does the article give to indicate the decline of the superpowers?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 1.

The term “superpower” has now been defined and the two nations that qualify as superpowers have been identified. How then do the U.S.A. and USSR compare in a number of important areas?

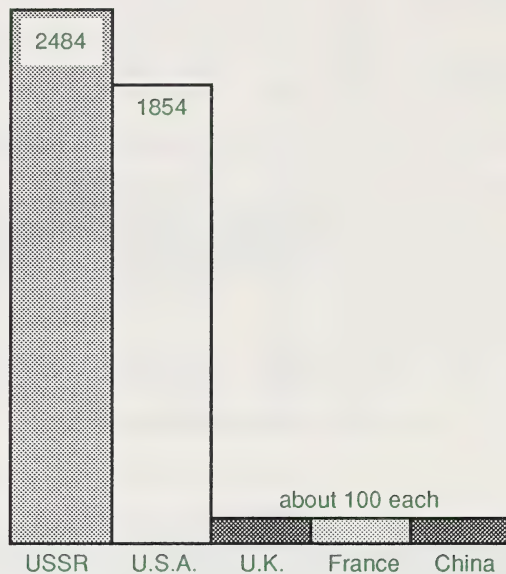
Refer to the following three sources and answer the questions that come after them.

Source 1: The Four Leading Countries in Terms of Size, Population, and Wealth					
Size (Area in square kilometres)		Population (1981)		Wealth (GNP in \$ billion 1981)	
USSR	22 402 000	China	982 600 000	U.S.A.	2925.5
Canada	9 976 800	India	686 200 000	USSR	1212
China	9 561 000	USSR	267 600 000	Japan	1127
U.S.A.	9 363 000	U.S.A.	230 800 000	West Germany	620

Source 2: Armed Forces	
USSR	3 375 000
China	2 880 000
U.S.A.	2 699 000
India	980 000

*Strategic weapons: long-range
missiles and bombs*

Source 3: Strategic Weapons of the Nuclear Powers



5. One superpower does not dominate in all of the three important areas as indicated in Source 1. Why can we say that only the U.S.A. and USSR are superpowers?

6. From the three sources preceding, use facts and statistics to show that the U.S.A. and USSR are the only countries of the contemporary major powers that qualify as superpowers.

7. What disqualifies Canada from superpower status?

8. What general conclusion (generalization) can you make about the above statistical relationships? Choose the best one, and circle it.

- A. The superpower countries are the largest areas of the world.
- B. To be a superpower, a country must have the greatest area, largest armed forces, most people, and greatest wealth.
- C. The superpowers are nations whose military and political power is far greater than those of any other nation of the world, which gives them a major influence on all international affairs and interactions.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 1.

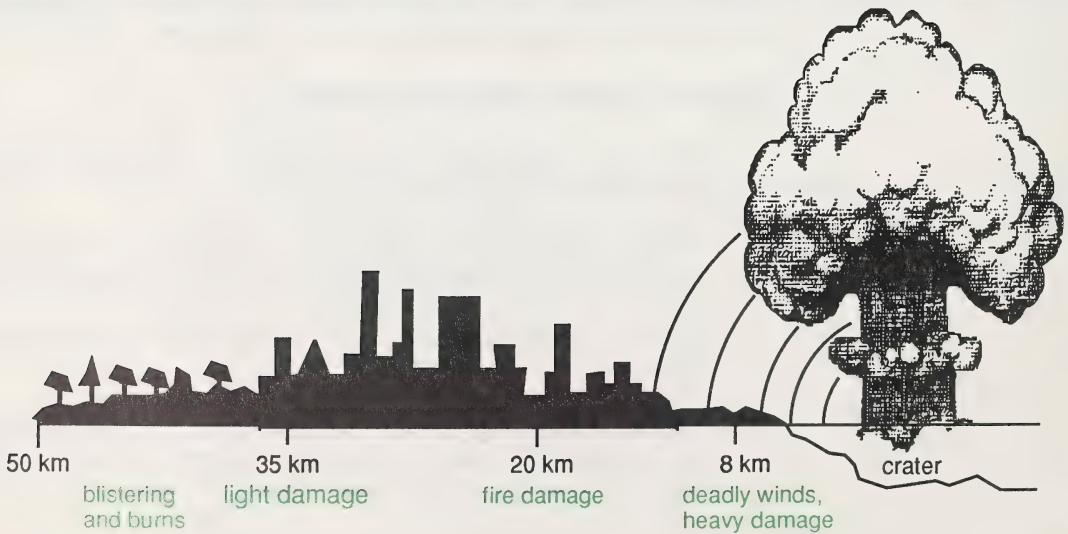
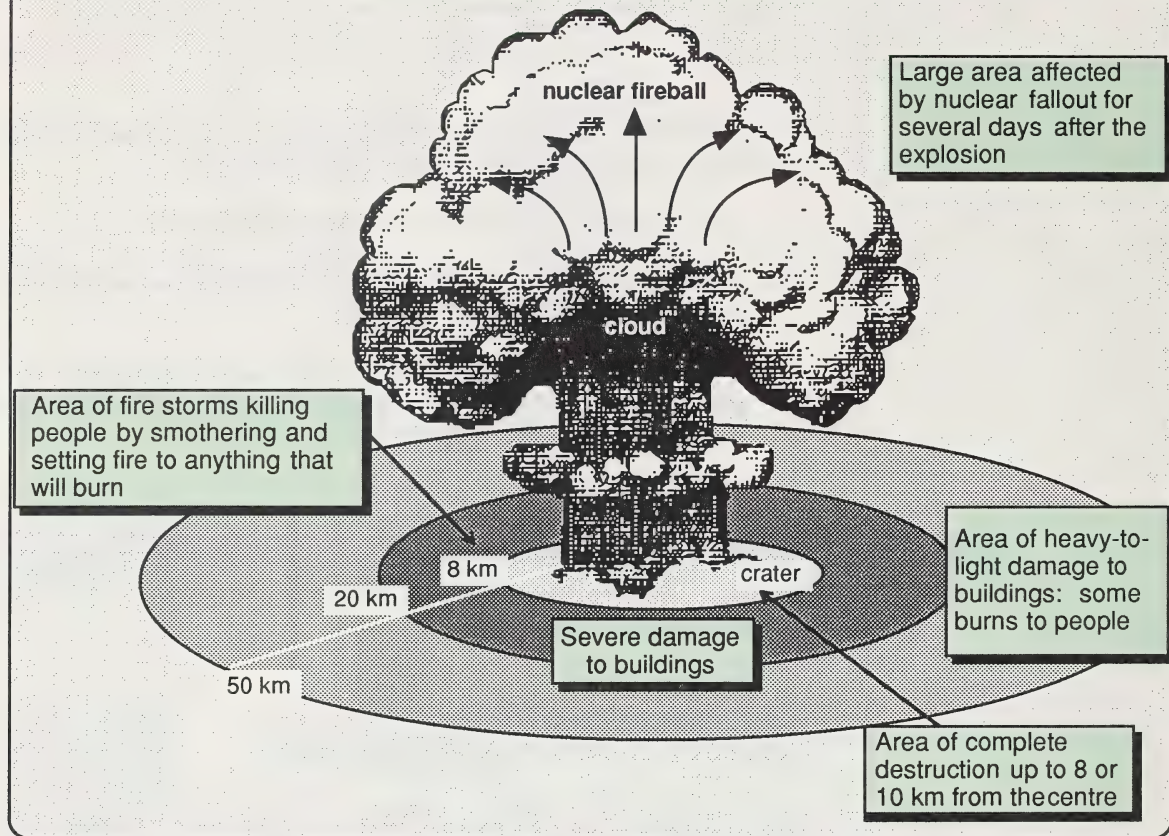
Activity 2: Effects of a Nuclear Blast

There is really no way of avoiding the effects of a total nuclear war if such a war occurs. Many believe that those who live far enough away to survive nuclear blasts will envy those who died instantaneously near “ground zero.”

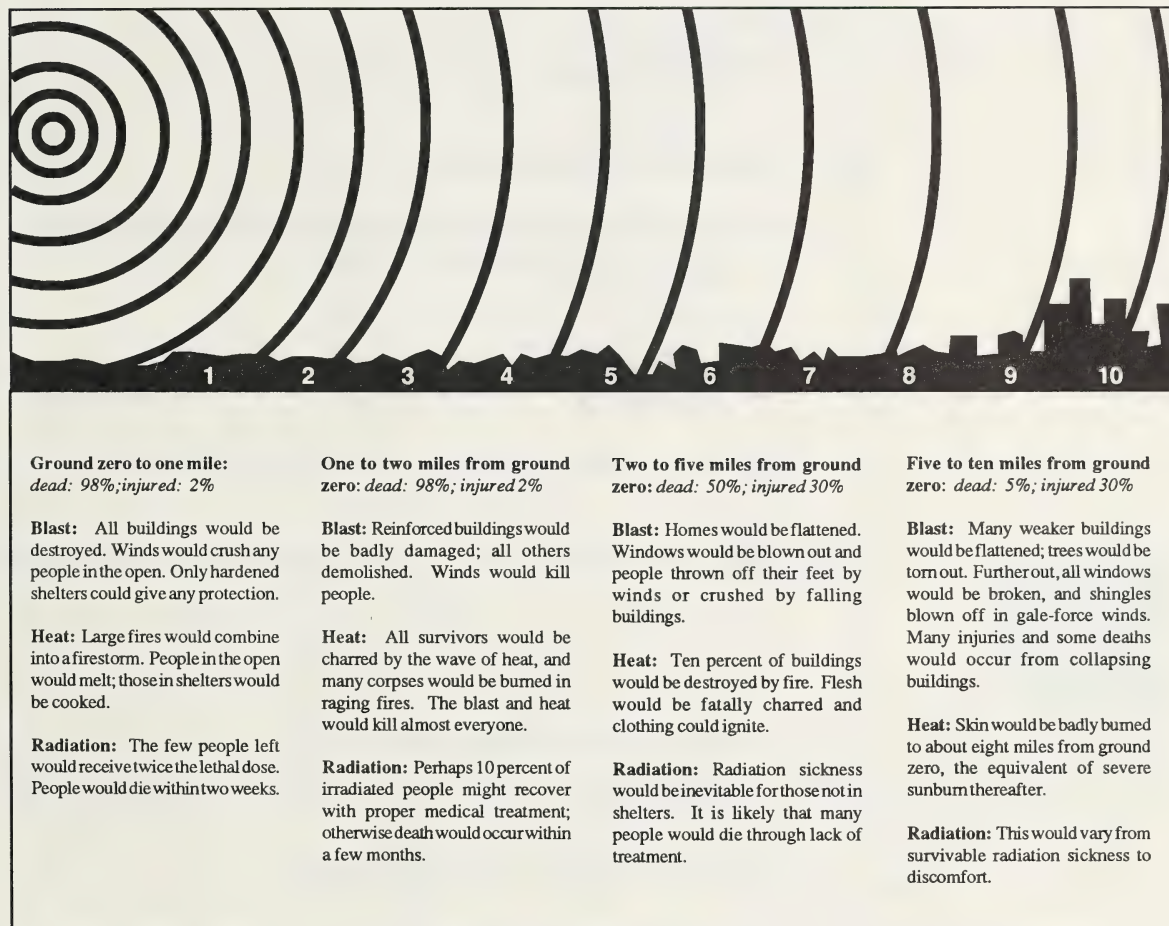
Four Main Effects of a Nuclear Blast

- The Flash – as many report “whiter than the sun.” It can blind people sixty-five kilometres away who are looking.
- The Heat – thermonuclear fallout several millions degrees Centigrade at the centre. It can ignite flammable materials up to eighteen kilometres away.
- The Blast – enormous pressure of air. The shock wave will flatten anything in its path.
- Radiation – surprisingly lethal considering that only 17 percent of the bomb’s energy comes from radiation. Those surviving the first round would be in danger of an agonizingly slow death from radiation sickness.

Likely Effects of a Nuclear Explosion



Instant Effects of a One-megaton Explosion



Three Ways of Dying in a Nuclear Attack

- being burned to death by the heat
- being blown apart by the blast
- dying from radiation sickness from the fallout

Stages of Radiation Sickness

I Intense Irradiation:

- great pain
- massive hair loss
- vomiting
- diarrhea
- massive internal hemorrhaging

II Medium Irradiation (You will be infected even if you are inside a building.):

- diarrhea and vomiting within a few days
- temporary recovery
- hair loss
- relapse into sickness
- internal bleeding
- lingering death

III Mild Exposure (This can result in cancer twenty to thirty years later.)

Complete the following outline of the effects of a nuclear blast from a one-megaton bomb.



*One megaton: about 76 times as big as bomb dropped on Hiroshima
= 1 million tons TNT*

1. Definition of One-megaton Bomb:

2. Four Major Effects of Any Nuclear Blast:

Effect a. _____

Detail (1) _____

Detail (2) _____

Effect b. _____

Detail (1) _____

Detail (2) _____

Effect c. _____

Detail (1) _____

Detail (2) _____

Effect d. _____

Detail (1) _____

Detail (2) _____

3. The Devastation of a One-megaton Bomb:

Distance a. _____

Effect (1) _____

Distance b. _____

Effect (1) _____

Effect (2) _____

Distance c. _____

Effect (1) _____

Effect (2) _____

Distance d. _____

Effect (1) _____

4. Three Ways One Could Die in a Nuclear Attack:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

5. Stages of Radiation Sickness:

Stage a. _____

Characteristics (1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

Stage b. _____

Characteristics (1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

Stage c. _____

Characteristics _____

6. **Generalization:** What general statement or conclusion can you make about the effects of a nuclear explosion?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 2.

Activity 3: Background to the Atomic Age

The Cold War developed at the conclusion of World War II. Most nations of the world allied themselves with either the communist bloc, led by the USSR or the non-communist (western) bloc, led by the U.S.A. This shift created a bipolar world where the **balance of power** was maintained by U.S.-dominated NATO against a Soviet-controlled Warsaw Pact. Conflict between the two blocs emerged by 1945, and Cold War confrontation climaxed in the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

The Cuban confrontation brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. It **destabilized** international affairs. Yet after the crisis, world leaders became more sensitive to the real possibility of nuclear weapons. As a direct result of the Cuban crisis, and the threat of nuclear war, the superpowers entered into a period of **stabilized** relations.

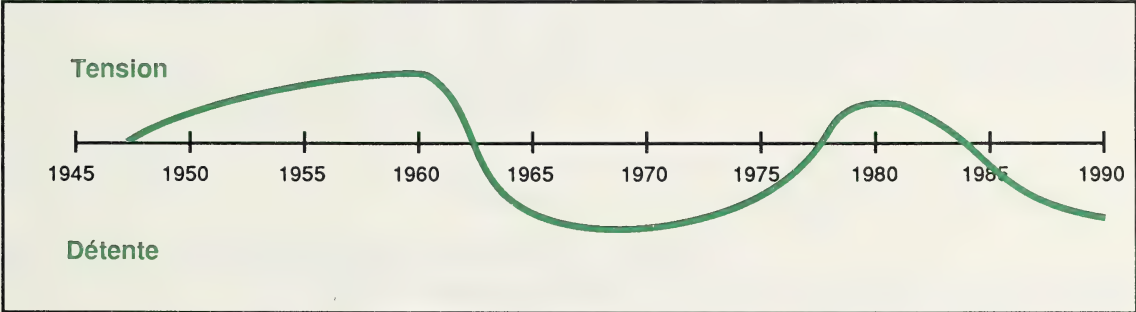
Balance of power: an attempt to achieve parity in military capability

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD): the concept that neither the U.S. or the USSR could sustain a nuclear attack and still inflict unacceptable damage on the other

Peaceful coexistence: a policy announced in 1956 by Nikita Khrushchev advocating political rather than military competition between the superpowers

Détente: the relaxation of international tension between the U.S.A. and USSR and their respective allies

Probably one the greatest causes of modern anxiety to the young and old alike is the possibility of nuclear holocaust. The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 shocked the world. Many saw the Cold War as a possible “hot war,” waged with nuclear weapons. This was to affect superpower interactions and the foreign policies of all nations through the next three decades. Leaders of the world believed that the only means of global security was through the rather unstable concept of **mutual assured destruction** or **MAD**. This revelation led the superpower leaders to embark on a period of **peaceful coexistence** – an attempt to reach common understanding and cooperation, or **détente**.



Effect of Nuclear Weapons on Superpower Relations

Stabilizer	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• post-Cuban Crisis – period of détente• regional wars kept limited by proxy, e.g., Vietnam, Arab-Israeli Crises
Destabilizer	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• period of weapons proliferation• arms race, e.g., cruise missile, MX missile, SDI

On the basis of what you have read, do the following exercise.

1. How did the Cuban Missile Crisis change the nature of superpower and global interactions?



2. What does the acronym “MAD” stand for?

3. How has MAD changed the way the superpowers interact with each other?

4. How does MAD maintain the balance of power?

5. In the context of superpower relations, what does of the term “peaceful coexistence” mean?

6. Define the term “détente.”

7. How have nuclear weapons both stabilized and destabilized superpower relations?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Global Security and the Doomsday Clock

Security is a concern we all share. We are concerned for our personal security when facing a bully or for family security when worried about financial considerations.

But there is a larger issue. Communities worry about common security problems such as nearby sour-gas plants and crime. But what about our country? our world? What problems put the security of Canada and the global community in jeopardy?

Since Christmas Eve, 1947, the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, a publication that explores scientific and technological questions affecting the well-being of humanity, has published an imaginary clock to symbolize how far the world is away from nuclear war and probable annihilation. The “**doomsday clock**” came to symbolize the twentieth century struggle for **global security**. If the clock’s minute hand was to reach twelve o’clock, a total nuclear war would be at hand and the survival of the world would be doubtful.

Doomsday clock: a clock that periodically appears on the cover of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, indicating how close the world is to nuclear war
As global tensions increase, the clock’s hands move closer to midnight.

Global security: confidence among all nations that they will not be attacked – that the world as we know it will survive

Toward Doomsday – a History of the Clock

1947

Seven Minutes to Midnight:

The clock is set to show the world how close we were to nuclear Armageddon.

1949

Three Minutes to Midnight:

The Soviet Union explodes its first atomic bomb.

1953

Two Minutes to Midnight:

The Soviet Union explodes its first hydrogen bomb, adding a new dimension to the nuclear arms race.

1963

Twelve Minutes to Midnight:

The aftershock of the Cuban Missile Crisis causes superpower leaders to relax the tensions of Cold War and arms race. Signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty and halting nuclear tests in the atmosphere further ease international tension.

1969

Ten Minutes to Midnight:

Though the Vietnam war causes tensions, ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty creates hope that the spread of atomic arms might be contained.

1972**Twelve Minutes to Midnight:**

The clock is put back after the U.S.A. and USSR ratify the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the first arms limitation agreement.

1974**Nine Minutes to Midnight:**

SALT fails to make progress, and the arms race intensifies. India joins the nuclear weapons club. The Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident raises questions about the safety of nuclear power.

1980**Seven Minutes to Midnight:**

SALT II not ratified. Events in Iran and Afghanistan highlight the irrationality of national and international actions.

1983**Four Minutes to Midnight:**

As a result of several international incidents that heightened superpower and global tensions – e.g., tensions in Poland, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, international terrorism, Reagan's "get tough with Russians" policy – the clock is advanced.

1984**Three Minutes to Midnight:**

After careful calculations of forty-seven scientists (eighteen Nobel Prize winners) responding to the reluctance of nuclear leaders to talk and the preparedness to use nuclear weapons, the clock advances the closest it has been to doomsday in thirty years.

Present:

Where is the doomsday clock set now?

?

Significant easing of tension between the superpowers must move the minute hand back. But crises in world trouble spots may move it forward.

1. Draw hands on each clock that follows on the next page to represent how close the world was to nuclear war according to the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* for each year given. Explain the event(s) or state of affairs that caused the clock to be placed at this time.



a.



b.



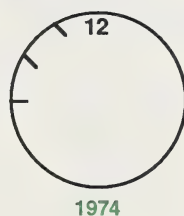
c.



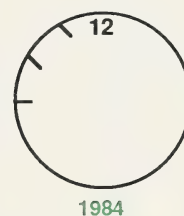
d.



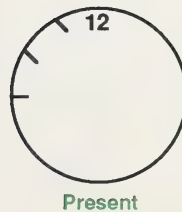
e.



f.



g.



2. What generalization can you make about the relationship between nuclear weapons and global security?
-
-

3. Refer to the cartoon that follows and answer the questions that come after it.



- a. What does the clock represent in the cartoon?
-

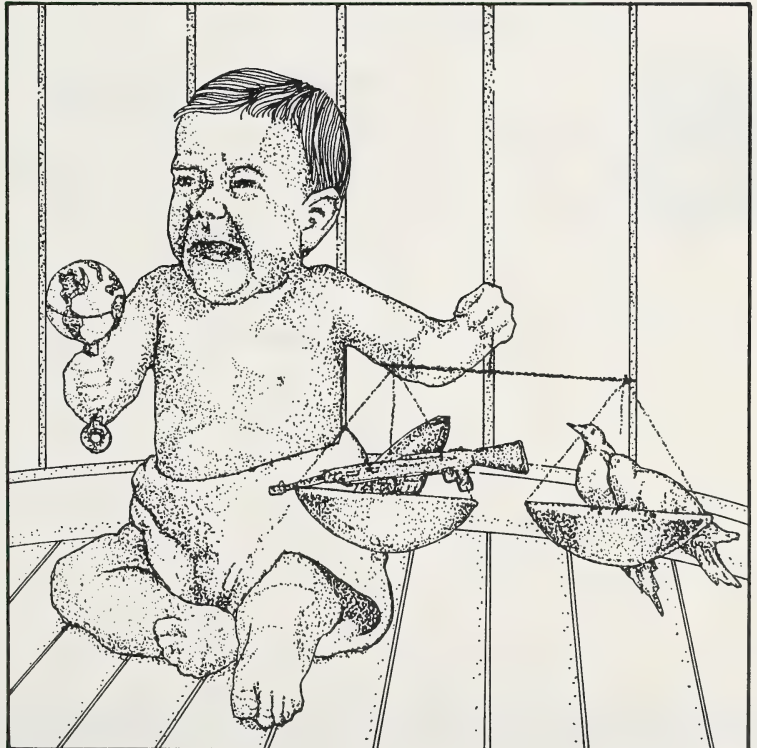
- b. Who do you think the bird in the cartoon represents?
-

c. What is the principal message of the cartoon?

d. In your own words, define "global security."

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 4.

Activity 5: Protecting Global Security



Everyone should be concerned about the survival of our planet and the probable outcome of a nuclear war, yet the world often finds itself precariously close to that very end.

If no one, or no country, wants to destroy the world, why has this problem not been solved? The route to global security can take one of two directions:

- **Mutual Assured Destruction:** If the two superpowers do not maintain an approximate balance of power, one superpower or an ally may be tempted to launch a war that it thinks will be won. If both powers believe that a nuclear war will annihilate the world, then neither will use these weapons. In other words, the prospect of conflict that will destroy the world will prove to be the best deterrent to another world war.
- **Disarmament:** The only way to prevent a nuclear war is to stop making any other nuclear weapons and dismantle all existing weapons using cooperative measures. Proponents of this alternative argue that MAD is just not reliable enough to ensure world peace. If the weapons are there, they feel, some day they'll be used. The only way to protect the security of the world is through cooperation.

Nuclear disarmament: the elimination of nuclear weapons around the world



1. In your own words, summarize the two alternative paths toward global security.

2. Which path do you think is our greatest hope for global security? Explain your answer.

3. Suggest one or two questions that you must ask to be able to support your decision more factually.

4. Refer to the cartoon shown at the beginning of this activity to answer the following questions.

- a. Who (or what) does the baby represent?

- b. Why is the baby crying?

- c. Explain this cartoon in relation to the issue and alternatives identified in this activity.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 5.

Activity 6: The Arms Race and the Balance of Power

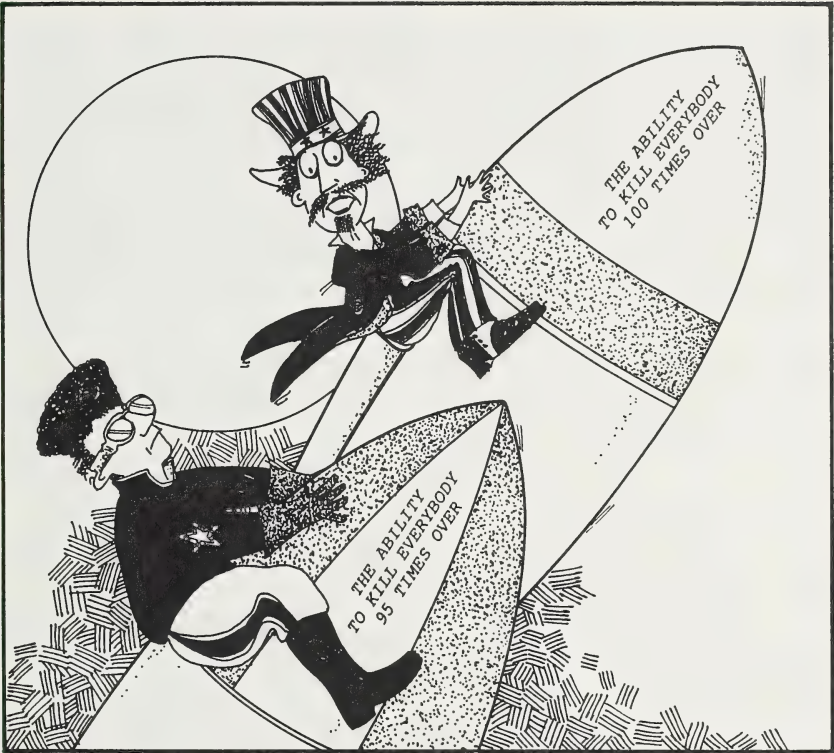
The nuclear arms race, used to maintain the balance of power, has been at the heart of controversy since both superpowers acquired nuclear capability.

Soviet and U.S. Nuclear Weapons			
Soviet Union		United States	
Number		Number	
Land based	1 418	Land based	1 000
Sea based	928	Sea based	640
Bombers	325	Bombers	383
Total	2,671	Total	2,023
Total Warheads		Total Warheads	
Land based	6 440	Land based	2 289
Sea based	2 448	Sea based	5 632
Bombers	1 500	Bombers	3 940
Total	10,388	Total	11 861
Total Megatons*		Total Megatons	
Land based	3 687	Land based	1 046
Sea based	957	Sea based	410
Bombers	1 200	Bombers	1 658
Total	5 844	Total	3 144

* One megaton is an explosive force equal to one million tonnes of TNT

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the chart from *Canada and the World*, May, 1989, p.20. Reprinted by permission of R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd.

Use the following cartoon to answer the questions that come after it.



Oh-oh! He's gaining ground.



1. Who (or what) do each of the people in the cartoon represent?

2. What are they riding?

3. What do they symbolize?

4. What is the cartoonist saying about the arms race?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

From 1945 to 1949 only the United States had “The Bomb.” But by 1949 the Soviets had detonated their own atomic bomb, thereby beginning the nuclear arms race.

The arms race took two forms:

- Improving technology; for example, the U.S. invented the hydrogen bomb in 1952.
- Increasing numbers of nuclear weapons; each side fought to have the largest arsenal.

All technological innovations in nuclear weapons have been developed by the superpowers. The superpowers have produced 95 percent of all nuclear weapons and are constantly adding to their arsenals.



Escalate: expand or intensify

5. Describe the two ways in which the superpowers have **escalated** the arms race.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

Escalation of the Nuclear Arms Race to 1975

	U.S.A.	USSR
First nuclear chain reaction	1942	1946
First atom bomb explosion	1945	1949
First H-bomb explosion	1952 NATO	1953 Warsaw Pact
European alliances in effect	1949	1955
Tactical nuclear weapons in Europe	1954	1957
Accelerated buildup of strategic missiles	1961	1966
First supersonic bomber	1960	1975
First ballistic missile-launching submarine	1960	1968
First solid rocket fuel used in missiles	1960	1968
Multiple warheads on missiles	1964	1973
High-speed reentry bodies (warheads)	1970	1975
Multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles on missiles	1970	1975
Computerized guidance on missiles	1970	1975



6. What important conclusion can you draw from the preceding chart? Support your answer with at least two statistics.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

Since you have already seen that China is an emerging superpower, it is important to note that it detonated its first nuclear weapon in 1964. Accordingly, China continues to make great strides in nuclear-weapon capability.

Since the 1970s, the superpowers have attempted to

- play their adversaries against one another
- prevent the emergence of new nuclear superpowers
- reduce arsenals while maintaining the balance of power



7. Why would the superpowers want to do this?

8. What effect would such actions have on the arms race?

***Deterrence:** a military doctrine according to which potential enemies are threatened with unacceptable damage through retaliation, thus preventing a possible attack*

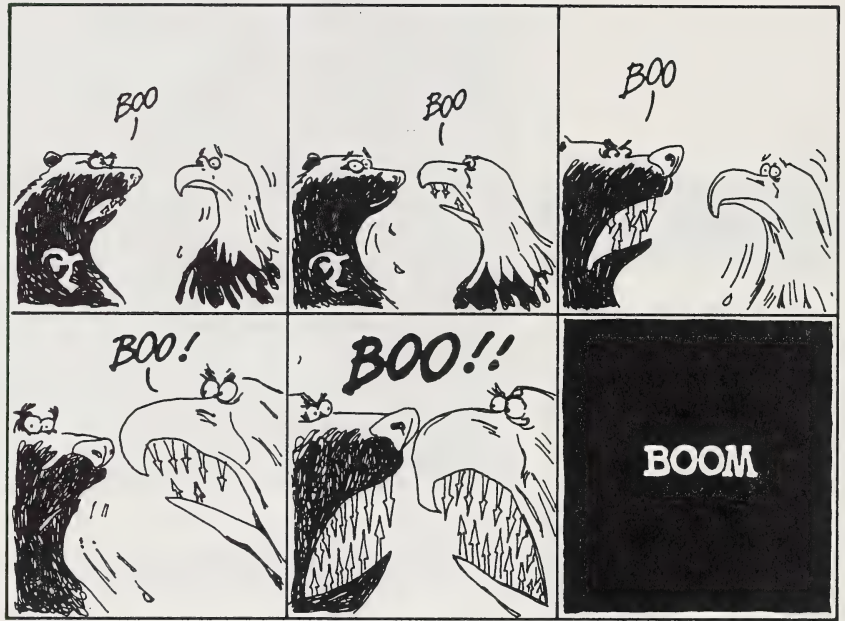
9. Use the chart that follows to answer the question that comes after it.

Opposing Viewpoints – The Nuclear Arms Race	
Stabilizes Global Interactions	Destabilizes Global Interactions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A balance through deterrence must be maintained. • The only way to deter is to keep up with the opposing superpower. Mutual deterrence has prevented, and is preventing, another world war. • If one side perceives superiority, it will be tempted to use nuclear weapons. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A balance through deterrence is really a balance of terror. • An increase in armaments is unnecessary; we had deterrence long ago. • Preparing for war increases the probability of war.

In your own words, summarize each argument presented in the preceding chart.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines, typical of notebook paper. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

10. Look at the cartoon and answer the questions that follow it.



a. Who, or what, do each of the following symbolize?

(1) **the bear**

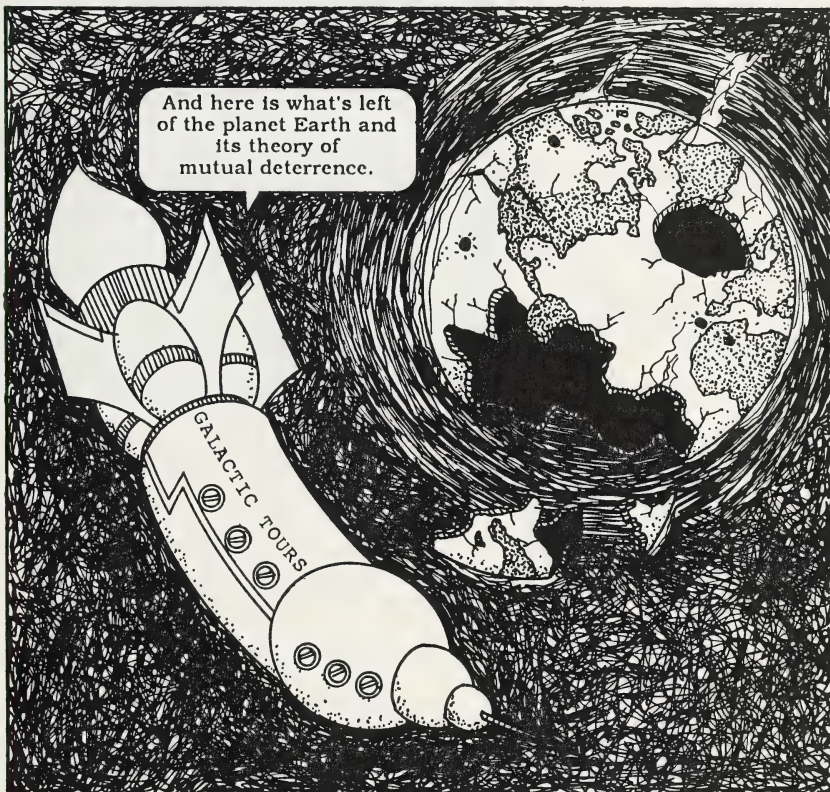
(2) **the eagle**

b. What does the cartoon say about the arms race and superpower relations at that time?

¹ *The Ottawa Citizen* for the cartoon by Alan King. Reprinted by permission of *The Ottawa Citizen* and Alan King.

c. What is the result for the rest of the world?

11. Here's another cartoon. Examine it and answer the question that follows.



What is the main idea of this cartoon?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

Canada's Role in the Nuclear Arms Race

Although Canada has not directly made nuclear weapons, we are indirectly involved in the nuclear arms race, as the following facts reveal.

Canada/U.S. Defence Production Agreement:

- Canadian firms and branch plants can bid on American military contracts, e.g., Litton Industries in Rexdal, Ontario makes guidance systems for the cruise missile.
- The Canadian Defence Industry Productivity Program was established to improve production of military technology.
- Canada provides bases for the U.S. through NORAD
- Canada has provided territory for the testing of weapons, e.g., cruise missile testing in Cold Lake, Alberta.



12. Do you think Canada should be involved in the arms race? Explain your reasons.

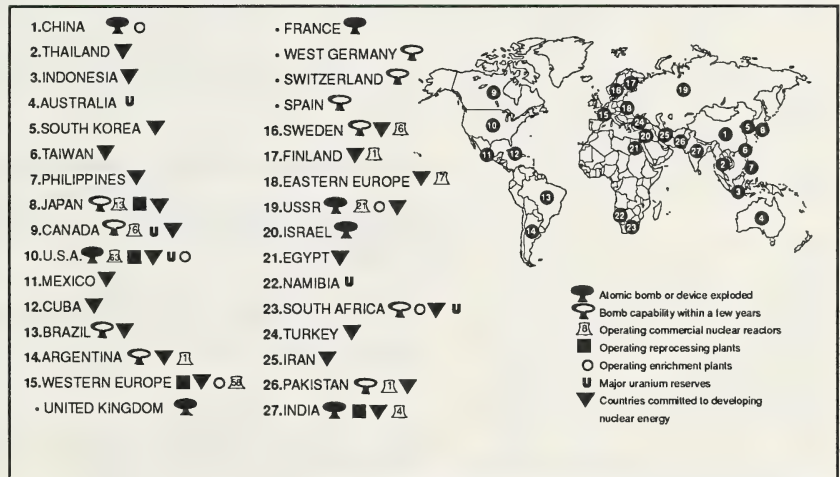
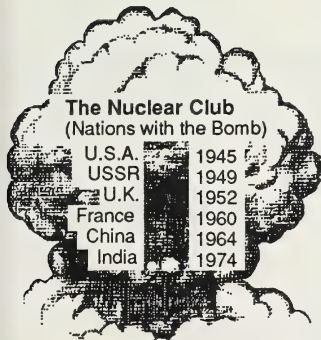
Check your answer by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

Activity 7: Nuclear Proliferation – Stabilization or Destabilization?

Nuclear proliferation: the spread of nuclear weapons
"Horizontal proliferation" refers to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nations that previously had none. "Vertical proliferation" refers to increases in a nation's nuclear arsenal.

Nuclear proliferation is an important part of the arms race. Since the superpowers first exploded their bombs, several other nations have exploded their own. Several others are suspected of possessing the bomb.

Nuclear Proliferation



Use the preceding illustrations to do the exercise that follows.

1. List the countries under the following categories:

a. **Atomic bomb exploded:**

b. **Bomb capability within a few years:**



c. Capability in the future:

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 7.

As you have seen when studying deterrence, there are two schools of thought as to what nuclear proliferation means to the maintenance of international peace and security:

- The spread of nuclear weapons is a destabilizing threat that must be controlled. Analysts who take this position see nuclear proliferation as one of the most urgent arms control issues facing the international community today. Here are some reasons:
 - Often new members of the “nuclear club” are politically unstable and volatile nations.
 - This situation creates more decision makers capable of launching a nuclear war.
 - Proliferation of nuclear weapons increases the likelihood of their being used.
- While countries may continue to develop nuclear technology, they may not resort to actual development of nuclear weapons. Analysts who take this position minimize the instability created by the building of nuclear weapons by other countries. They say that there is no immediate danger to international peace and security even if some countries do acquire nuclear weapons. They argue that rather than destabilize the world, nuclear weapons have kept the peace over the last forty-five years.

New Technology

2. Read the article “Star Wars vs Red Shield” and complete the chart that follows by listing the major weapon developments.



Star Wars vs Red Shield

*The militarization of space
threatens the nuclear balance*

The theory is as flashy as the movie after which it was named. Star Wars, or the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), is an epic military and political vision of the U.S. government. If it works as planned, Star Wars would form an interlocking canopy of weapons that Soviet nuclear missiles could not penetrate. The missiles would be intercepted by space-station laser beams, particle-beam weapons, and air-launched and ground-launched missiles. All missiles would be destroyed before they could unleash their deadly nuclear warheads on American cities. That's the theory.

Star Wars is a massive undertaking. So far, \$12 billion has been spent on research. Another \$4.6 billion will be spent in 1989. Yet, the U.S. military is still years away from developing the technology capable of making the vision reality. At best, it will launch a modified version of Star Wars in 1996.

A functional Star Wars system would threaten the Soviet's ability to carry out a nuclear strike on North America. It would also enable the U.S. to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. The United States wouldn't have to fear Soviet retaliation if it has a defence system that could repel all attacks.

Since the beginning of the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the U.S., both sides have been deterred from starting a nuclear war. That's because they both knew that such a war would result in both countries, and probably the world, being devastated. This was called Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and upon

that principle rested the peace strategy of deterrence. As long as both sides maintained the same nuclear ability neither side could be certain of winning a war. The risks outweighed the possible gains so both superpowers had to avoid a military showdown.

Star Wars threatens this balance, as does the Soviet Union's similar program called Red Shield. That the Soviets were working on an SDI program was admitted by Premier Mikhail Gorbachev in November 1987. This fact has seriously undermined chances of the U.S. agreeing to abandon Star Wars as part of an overall nuclear arms limitation agreement.

In early 1988, the Soviet Union abandoned such demands. Now, the USSR seeks an agreement that would allow both sides to carry out limited research on SDI systems. Such an agreement should conform to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty which aimed to prevent the militarization of space. The U.S. Senate never formally approved the treaty and so is not bound by its restrictions.

Former U.S. President Ronald Reagan stated repeatedly that the U.S. "will research it (Star Wars). We will develop it. And when it is ready, we'll deploy it." President George Bush says much the same thing. U.S. officials claim that the Soviet Union has already spent a lot of money on Red Shield.

In light of this inability to agree on a way of stopping the development of space-based SDI systems it seems unlikely any agreement to prevent the militarization of space will be reached in the near future.¹

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the excerpt from *Canada and the World* "Star Wars vs Red Shield," May 1989 p. 27. Reprinted by permission of R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd.



Modern Developments in Superpower Weapons	
United States	Soviet Union
<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
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Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 7.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

In Section 1 you have reviewed the meaning of the term “superpower” and have examined the issue of global security. The **arms race**, **MAD**, **deterrence**, **balance of power**, **stabilization**, **destabilization**, and **nuclear proliferation** are all terms with which you should by now be familiar.

To make sure that you do understand these expressions, define each of the following in your own words.

1. **Global Security:**

2. **Stabilization (of international relations):**

3. **Destabilization (of international relations):**



4. **Arms race:** _____

5. **Mutual Assured Destruction:** _____

6. **Mutual deterrence:** _____

7. **Balance of power:** _____

8. **Nuclear proliferation:** _____

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Extra Help.

Enrichment

Generalizations are general statements that can be arrived at by analyzing a number of specific facts or statements; for example, if you know of many cars made by Company X that have had brake problems, you might arrive at the generalization that Company X's cars tend to have poor brakes.

You must of course, be careful not to **overgeneralize**. If you are aware of two similar-model cars that have faulty brakes, it is not fair to arrive at the universal generalization that **all** such cars have bad braking systems.

1. Bearing this in mind, think about the material you have studied in this module and come up with two defensible generalizations based on that material.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Enrichment.

Conclusion

In Section 1 the development of nuclear weapons has been viewed as both a stabilizing and destabilizing influence in superpower relations.

ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the assignment(s) for this section.



Assignment
Booklet

Spheres of Influence and Global Interactions



Recently we have heard much about the NIMBY phenomenon. Faced with the possibility of having a garbage dump, a toxic waste disposal centre, an airport, or a sour gas plant close to their homes, people have screamed loud and clear, “*Not in my back yard!*”

The prospect of having such undesirable sites close to our homes seems to affect our territorial imperative; it invades our “sphere of influence.” Both superpowers have taken action since 1963 to protect their spheres of influence. Often this has resulted in each superpower’s becoming involved in regional wars in the Third World. After finishing this section you should be able to

- apply the concept of “sphere of influence” to superpower conflicts in Vietnam, Central America, eastern Europe, and the Middle East
- apply the concept of “limited war” to fighting in Vietnam and Central America
- describe expansionist actions in various regions of the world
- explain how the aggressive actions of the superpowers have harmed the independence of smaller nations

Activity 1: The War in Vietnam

A Quick Review

Since the beginning of the Cold War, the superpowers have worked to do the following:

- maintain the extent of the territory under their control
- stop the opposing superpower from gaining any more territory, especially in areas close to their own nation
- expand their control to territories of strategic importance, especially close to the other superpower's backyard

As you saw in the previous section, **MAD** (mutual assured destruction) has been a **stabilizing** and **destabilizing** force in international affairs. But the world has been drawn closer to the nuclear abyss each time the superpowers have become involved in various regional conflicts occurring in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. These **proxy wars** have enabled the superpowers to fight the Cold War through other Third World nations.

In Module 7, “The Rise and Interaction of the Superpowers,” you learned the meaning of the terms **sphere of influence**, **expansionism**, **containment**, **balance of power**, and **independence**. These terms are of great importance to this module and section as well.

In this section you will reapply these concepts through the study of indirect superpower confrontations in Vietnam, Central America, and eastern Europe throughout the last three decades.

The Vietnam War: An Overview

No doubt you have been exposed to the Vietnam War through popular movies and television programs. Shows such as *Platoon* and *Tour of Duty* show a particular side of the conflict. But the war in Vietnam remains one of the most complex historical developments of the twentieth century. Why did the war break out? How was France involved? Why was World War II an important watershed in recent Southeast Asian history? How and why did the superpowers become involved?

Proxy: a person (or in this case a country) empowered by another to act for that other

Proxy war: a regional, limited war, often fought in and by Third World countries, in which superpowers become involved to further their interests

Sphere of influence: territories or nations that fall under the exclusive influence of another, usually more powerful, nation

Expansionism: a policy of a territory or nation whereby it attempts to extend its economic, political, and territorial influence

Containment: a fundamental security policy of the U.S.A. since the 1940s to apply counterforce to communist expansion in order to prevent more parts of the world from establishing communist governments

Balance of power: an attempt to achieve parity in military capability

Independence: a nation's freedom to act on its own behalf without outside interference from any other nation or group

Southeast Asia



Vietnam – Vital Statistics

Length of War: 1960-1975

Number of people killed:
1 800 000

Number of Americans killed:
50 000

Cost of war to U.S.A.:
\$30 billion per year

The greatest costs of the war in human and economic terms were suffered by Vietnam and its people.

This war, the longest in the twentieth century, had deep historical roots. Eventually it became a war in which the superpowers were heavily involved – a proxy war. The United States supported South Vietnam while the USSR backed the North. Each superpower fought the war by proxy; it was an indirect confrontation in that the superpowers stopped short of confronting each other directly. MAD and the experiences of the Cuban Missile Crisis forced the superpowers to respect mutual deterrence and therefore avoid a direct confrontation.

The U.S. intervened in Vietnam to stop the spread of communism and to further its economic interests, i.e., multinationals. The USSR justified its involvement in Vietnam to protect “oppressed people.”

Historical Background of the War

Colonialism: the policy of a nation seeking to acquire, extend, or retain overseas dependencies

Nationalism: a strong love of country, often coupled with the desire to control other countries or to acquire freedom from the control of other countries

Self-determination: the right of a nation to conduct its own affairs and determine its own future

Guerrilla warfare: a "hit-and-run" form of warfare often favoured by a weaker native army against the much stronger regular armed forces, usually of the government or an invader

In the nineteenth century, France **colonized** Indochina (now Kampuchea), which included the countries of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and eastern Siam (now Thailand). Before World War II, a **nationalist** movement emerged. Its goal was to achieve **self-determination** or **independence** from its French colonial masters. During World War II, Vietnam was occupied by the Japanese. After the war ended in 1945, the French tried to regain control of its former Indochinese colonies. As they had with their Japanese captors, many nationalist Vietnamese people resisted French post war efforts; and eventually war erupted.

The strongest resistance to French colonial control occurred in northern Vietnam. The movement was led by Ho Chi Minh, a communist and a brilliant master of **guerrilla warfare**. Ho led his Viet Minh on a fierce and successful campaign against the Japanese and French. In 1954, his forces surrounded and defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu.



In 1954, a peaceful settlement was sought in Geneva. As a result of the armistice agreement, Indochina was divided into three separate nations: Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The Geneva Agreements ended French control. A communist government was established in North Vietnam and a "non-communist" government was formed in South Vietnam. Elections were to be held in 1956 to unite the country, but they never took place. The U.S.A. was not prepared to allow elections because it was clear that Ho Chi Minh would win.

Ho Chi Minh's nationalist North Vietnamese government was denied control of all of Vietnam through legal means. His government began continual guerrilla warfare and provided aid to South Vietnamese communists, called Viet Cong. The Viet Cong used guerrilla fighters to try to overthrow the U.S.-backed government in South Vietnam.

Now do the following exercises.



1. a. Where was Indochina?

- b. Which countries were included in Indochina?

2. Why were some Vietnamese people fighting France?

3. Define the following terms:
 - a. **Colonialism:**

 - b. **Nationalism:**

 - c. **Self-determination:**

4. Who was the leader of the Vietnamese nationalist resistance movement in the North?

5. How did the French first lose control of Indochina?

6. Define **guerrilla warfare**.

7. When, how, and where were the French defeated by nationalist Vietnamese forces?

8. What were the two major consequences of the Geneva Agreements of 1954?

9. Why were the elections of 1956 not held?

10. Who were the Viet Cong?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

Indirect Superpower Confrontation in Vietnam

The superpowers gradually became involved in the war in Vietnam. Initially, the U.S.A. was reluctant to become involved in the conflict. However, in keeping with his policy of containment, President Truman had already sent \$4 billion from 1950 to 1954. Also in 1954, following the Geneva Conference, the U.S.A. led the formation of the **Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)** to coordinate defence against aggression in Southeast Asia. The American government also helped South Vietnam to prepare to defend itself in the inevitable confrontation between the two states.

SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization): a defence pact designed by the U.S.A. in 1954 to protect Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam from communist advances. The signing went against the principles of the Geneva Accords.



Even before the fall at Dien Bien Phu, President Eisenhower stated; “The loss of Indochina will cause the fall of Southeast Asia like a set of dominoes.” This phrase gave rise to the expression the **domino effect** and became the major justification for American involvement against communist aggression. This, of course, harks back to the **Truman Doctrine** of containment.

After the French and South Vietnamese governments had pleaded with the U.S. for support, American involvement in the war gradually grew. With each successive president, American military aid expanded. As each American president sent in more support, the North Vietnamese increased their commitment.

The U.S. began involvement in Vietnam simply by sending supplies and military advisors to help South Vietnam. This did not stop the communists. North Vietnam turned to the USSR and China for help. Thus, the superpowers became indirectly involved in the Vietnam War. As the war escalated, the Soviet Union used its proxy, North Vietnam, to fight the Americans’ proxy, South Vietnam.

In 1956, the U.S. sent a large military force into South Vietnam. American soldiers were sent into the jungles of Vietnam to fight the Viet Cong. Gradually American planes began to bomb communist targets. By 1965, the U.S. was deeply involved in the struggle against the Viet Cong, who were supported by North Vietnam and the USSR. Both superpowers sought to maintain the balance of power in Southeast Asia, which ultimately caused the **escalation** of the war. As one side increased its commitment to the war, the other would expand its forces.

Domino effect: a theory used by the U.S.A. in connection with its involvement in Southeast Asia and Central America

The countries of Southeast Asia and Central America were likened to a row of dominoes with South Vietnam (in Southeast Asia) and Cuba (in Central America) being the first in the row. If they fell under communist control, then so eventually would other countries in the region – like a row of dominoes.

Truman Doctrine: a policy announced in March 1947 in which President Truman offered economic assistance to any nation willing to fight the spread of communism

Escalation: a term used to describe an increase in military involvement and aid



In spite of the indirect involvement of the USSR and direct military action by the U.S.A., the Vietnam War was a “limited war.” It was not “total war” as in World War II. When diplomatic pressure failed, the U.S.A. used more and more force to achieve its goals in Vietnam.

Now complete the exercise that follows.

11. Briefly summarize how superpower involvement in Vietnam caused the escalation of the War.

12. What was SEATO?

13. How was American involvement in Southeast Asia in keeping with the Truman Doctrine of containment?

14. a. What is war by proxy?

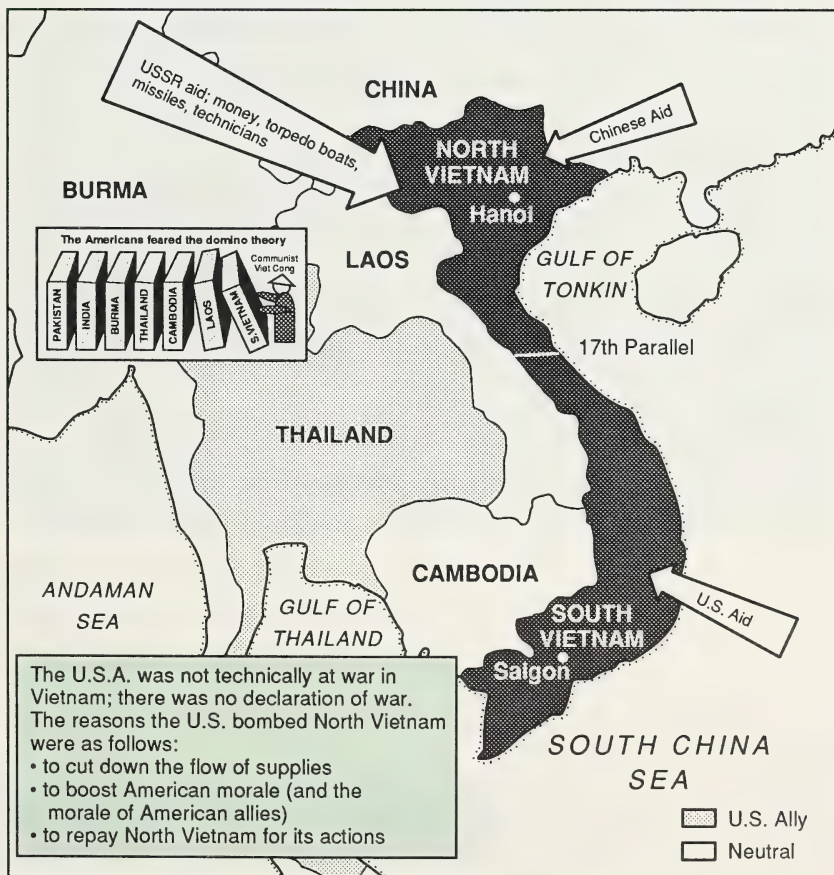


- b. How was this technique used by the superpowers to avoid a direct confrontation?

15. How did the superpowers' struggle to maintain the balance of power in Southeast Asia contribute to the escalation of the Vietnam War?

Refer to the map that follows to answer Questions 16 and 17.

The War in Vietnam



16. a. Was the U.S. technically at war in Vietnam?

b. Why, then, did Americans bombers shell the North?

17. List the countries that the U.S. feared would “fall like dominoes.”

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

During (and after) the War in Vietnam, there was a great deal of controversy as to whether or not the U.S.A. should have been involved at all. Study the arguments in the chart that follows.

American Involvement in Vietnam?

Arguments For	Arguments Against
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The War was an attempt by communist forces to seize control of Vietnam. The U.S.A. was justified in trying to stop them. • The military actions of the U.S.A. were necessary to defend the independence of South Vietnam. • The entry of the U.S. into the conflict was legal on the basis of American defensive agreements with South Vietnam and SEATO. • The Vietnam War was part of an international struggle; if Vietnam fell to the communists, so would Asia (domino effect). • Peace should be the goal, but any act of appeasement toward the enemy would have been dangerous. • A United States withdrawal from Vietnam would have brought a loss of confidence in American promises. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The War was a civil conflict between the people of Vietnam. The U.S.A. had no right to intervene. • The military actions of the U.S.A. were responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent people. • The U.S. entry was illegal because the Charter of the United Nations barred its members from any unilateral use of force. • By 1969, 40 711 men had been killed, 220 000 had been wounded, and billions of dollars had been spent; but no clear victory was in sight. • The costs of the War contributed to internal American problems like poverty and racism. • The U.S. was supporting a regime that did not represent its own people.

Unilateral: done or undertaken by one person or party (as opposed to collective)



18. Do think that the United States should have become involved in the War in Vietnam? Support your argument in a paragraph or two.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no text or other markings on the paper.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

The End of the War

In 1968, North Vietnam and the U.S. entered peace negotiations in Paris. In 1969, President Nixon began the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and commenced the “Vietnamization” of the conflict – turning more of the fighting over to the South Vietnamese forces and trying to convince the Vietnamese people that the U.S.A. was there as a friend, NOT an enemy.

One of the key reasons for the failure of the “Vietnamization” Policy was ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is the tendency for one group to consider themselves superior to another group or culture. The Americans assured the Vietnamese that they hoped to make Vietnam a united, independent democracy; however, the Vietnamese tended to see the Americans as foreign invaders. The U.S. was never really successful in winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people.



In Paris, on January 27, 1973, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, the U.S.A. and the Viet Cong ratified an agreement to end the fighting. The people of Vietnam themselves were to determine their own route to independence. But by 1975, the North was again pushing into the South. In April, Saigon fell and the government of South Vietnam surrendered. Communists, called the Khmer Rouge, also gained control of Cambodia.

American troops and workers quickly withdrew, and the superpower confrontation in Vietnam was largely over. The American policy of containment in Vietnam had failed.

19. Where and when did peace talks between the belligerents (those fighting) take place?

20. What was Nixon’s policy of “Vietnamization” of the War?



21. a. When did the War end?

b. What were the circumstances surrounding the end of the War?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

Summary – The Vietnam War

22. Complete the chart that follows.

Nation	Main Reason for Intervention	Explanation
U.S.A.	containment	
USSR	balance of power	

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.



Activity 2: The USSR and Its Sphere of Influence

The USSR became involved in a number of crises in eastern Europe through the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. The reasons, however, were different from those that resulted in American involvement in Vietnam. The Americans were worried about the domino effect if Vietnam fell to the communists. The Soviets were concerned about events within their sphere of influence.

Since World War II, the USSR has expanded its sphere of influence well into eastern Europe. As Soviet troops advanced on Germany from the east during World War II, the USSR liberated countries that were occupied by the Nazis. These countries, in turn, were occupied by Soviet armies.



After the War, Stalin and his government set out to retain these occupied countries and add them to the Soviet empire. These new “satellite” countries held great importance for the USSR. Not only would they supply “mother Russia” with a cheap source of raw materials, labour, and markets, but they would also be of strategic importance in the Cold War struggle with the U.S.A. Satellite states would provide the USSR with a buffer zone against an attack from NATO and would also extend the Soviet sphere of influence. This Cold War **expansionism** would prove to be a major source of conflict between the superpowers.

Czechoslovakia

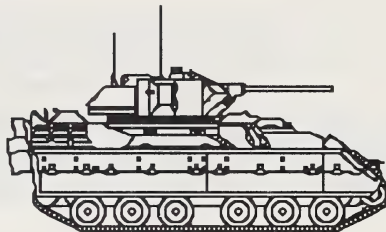
The Soviet Union liberated Czechoslovakia at the conclusion of World War II and established a communist government, favourable to the Soviets, in 1948. The communist regime in Czechoslovakia consolidated its leadership, using secret police to intern and exile potential opponents to the new government. “Opponents” to the regime were subjected to show trials where they were forced to read confessions prepared by the government. Many of these people were exiled to forced labour camps for long terms.

By the end of the 1950s a movement had emerged in Czechoslovakia which, while being deeply socialist, was critical of the hardline policies of the Czech and Soviet governments. Success for this movement came in 1967 when Alexander Dubcek became leader of Czechoslovakia. Most Czechs supported Dubcek in his call to combine all that they saw as good about the complete socializing of the economy with the benefits of liberal freedoms. Among Dubcek’s reforms were these:

- political opposition to the government would be allowed
- greater freedom of speech would be granted

This began the “Prague Spring” – the period of great hope for Czechoslovakia.

Although the Czech government clearly stated that it had no intention of leaving the Warsaw Pact, Soviet Premier Brezhnev was concerned that reform ideas would spread to other satellite countries or even to the USSR itself. In August, 1968, Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia and ended the “Prague Spring.” Dubcek was eventually replaced by Gustav Husak, who followed the Soviet line.



Brezhnev justified his actions by claiming that the USSR, as a communist nation, had a duty to stop any threat to established communism in any country. This came to be known as the “Brezhnev Doctrine,” which was seen as a clear warning to other eastern European countries. Brezhnev did not want any communist nation within the Soviet sphere of influence to break rank. He was worried about three possibilities if Czechoslovakia weakened the Soviet sphere of influence:

- defence against NATO and other western allies would be weakened
- other satellite states may be tempted to follow the Czech example, further weakening successful Soviet postwar expansionism
- this would alter the balance of power in favour of the U.S.A. and NATO

Now answer these questions:

1. How did the communists assume power in Czechoslovakia?

2. What methods of control were used by the communist government?



3. How did the people of Czechoslovakia eventually react to this regime in the 1950s and 60s?

4. Who was Alexander Dubcek?

5. What was the "Prague Spring"?

6. a. What was the "Brezhnev Doctrine"?

- b. How was it used to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

The 1968 Invasion of Czechoslovakia



In 1968, then, the Soviet Union, along with several Warsaw Pact allies invaded Czechoslovakia to reestablish a full communist government. There are three points to be noted about this invasion:

- Though Dubcek's reforms did not really endanger Soviet security, at that time the USSR was not prepared to take risks with a country bordering on the West.
- This crisis underlined the Soviet determination at that time not to allow any criticism of its form of government.
- The invasion caught NATO by surprise, but it quickly sent troops to the West German frontier, claiming that the crisis demonstrated the importance of maintaining a military presence in Europe.





7. What general conclusion can be made about balance of power between the superpowers on the basis of the invasion of Czechoslovakia?

8. Explain how the events in Czechoslovakia illustrate the following key concepts:

- a. **Sphere of influence:**

- b. **Balance of power:**

- c. **Expansionism:**

The events of 1989-90 in Czechoslovakia have been dramatic. Free democratic elections have been held, and the country has moved towards a market economy. Czechoslovakia still has ties to the USSR, but they are now more free and voluntary.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

Poland

Poland, 1981



Generally, the crises of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980 were rooted in similar causes. In both situations people sought reforms and more freedom from the Soviet Union. But while Czechoslovakia was invaded by the USSR, the Polish government was warned to deal with its dissident movement itself or face the possibility of invasion.

By 1948 the governments of all the countries of eastern Europe, including Poland, were under communist control. The U.S.A. and the West saw this as an attempt by the USSR to dominate the world.

In 1953, Stalin died. The new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, began to denounce the former leader, and the USSR embarked on a program of "de-Stalinization." This encouraged Poland to try to free itself from Soviet domination. In 1956, Polish workers rioted for higher pay and better working conditions. The Polish leader, Gomulka, established some nominal reforms, which the Soviet Union reluctantly allowed. Poland stayed within the Warsaw Pact.

Solidarity: an umbrella federation of trade unions in Poland that became a strong political force of ten million members led by Lech Walesa

The union was declared illegal under martial law in 1982, but later became an official opposition party in the Polish parliament.

By 1980 Polish people again began to cry out for reform. Poland faced massive economic problems – debt and shortages of basic foods and raw materials. Throughout the 1970s Poles had to endure rising prices for food (often imported), shortages of food staples, and long lines at shops. Many people blamed the communist leadership in Poland, which the masses saw as the privileged class.

In the summer of 1980, led by shipyard workers of the **Solidarity** union in Gdansk, workers began a series of strikes to protest shortages, long lines at shops, and high prices.

In October, a victory was won – an event unprecedented in a communist country. The government officially recognized Solidarity as an independent trade union. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa became a hero and a symbol of the Polish people's struggle.

During the next several months, Walesa led the workers on a series of demonstrations. Throughout this process, the Soviet government repeatedly warned the Polish government that it must remain a loyal ally of the Soviet bloc; it must remain within the Soviet sphere of influence.

In February, 1981, the Soviet Union threatened invasion, and Wojciech Jaruzelski became head of the Polish government. In March a nationwide protest against police brutality took place. Millions of Poles took to the streets for a national hunger strike.

In the fall Solidarity called for free elections and several other key reforms. In response, the Polish government banned strikes.

In December, Solidarity called for a national referendum on whether the communist party should continue to govern Poland. This the government could not tolerate, so it declared martial law; civil rights were suspended, union activity and Solidarity was banned, its leaders arrested and imprisoned. Poland was under military rule.

Clearly, the Polish government heeded the warnings from the Kremlin. To prevent Soviet intervention, Jaruzelski cracked down on Solidarity and suppressed the growing popular movement of dissidents.

The U.S. and the West were very critical of the imposition of martial law, but would not risk a major confrontation at that time. A number of economic sanctions, however, were placed on the Soviet Union.

After this, though, Solidarity's leaders were released and Solidarity reemerged. Walesa again won a number of key reforms, but he went more slowly. In 1989, Solidarity was allowed to field candidates in the Polish elections, in which they won a great percentage of the popular vote.

Poland is on its way towards evolving into a truly democratic country. Free elections are being held. The economy is moving to a market economy.



9. Why did Poland find itself within the Soviet bloc?

10. What were the major grievances of the Polish people throughout the 1970s?

11. What is Solidarity?

12. As reforms were achieved in Poland, exactly what was the role of the USSR?

13. In December, 1981, what did the Polish government feel itself forced to do?

14. Describe the present state of affairs in Poland.

15. What conclusion can be drawn about the relationship of the events in Poland, spheres of influence, self-determination, and the superpowers?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

Afghanistan

Although Afghanistan is in the Middle East, it is still within the Soviet sphere of influence. Afghanistan shares a common border with the USSR and is important to the USSR mainly because of its strategic geographic location and its proximity to Middle East oil supplies. As in Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Soviets believed that the Afghan reform movement was pulling Afghanistan away from the USSR's sphere of influence. This could not be tolerated by Soviet leaders. Again the Soviet army intervened in a nation's self-determination and invaded Afghanistan in 1979.

The War in Afghanistan



Neighbours:

China • northeast
USSR • northwest
Iran • west
Pakistan • south

By the time Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan on Christmas Eve, 1979, a civil war was already being fought. Prime Minister Amin had tried to remove Muslim traditions and had angered many Afghans. Some had fled to other countries, but many stayed to fight. The most formidable of these fighters were the *mujahedeen* – Muslim guerrillas who had been fighting Amin’s government.

The Soviets claimed that Amin asked them for help against the rebels. Amin was killed and replaced with Babrak Karmal, who set up a new pro-Soviet government. The Soviet army stayed on to fight the *mujahedeen*.

Many analysts believe that the Soviets found their own Vietnam in Afghanistan. The poorly equipped *mujahedeen* knew their countryside well and fought a successful campaign against the superpower Soviets. Guerrillas attacked supply convoys, as well as electricity and oil supply lines to Kabul. By 1984, a stalemate had developed. The Soviets had enough troops to control the cities but not the countryside.

The U.S.A. gave some military aid to the guerrillas through Pakistan. Eventually the Soviets withdrew in 1988. A communist, pro-Soviet government remains in Afghanistan.

The U.S.A. reacted to the invasion of Afghanistan by refusing to ratify SALT II and boycotting the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. Embargoes were placed on technological and grain exports to the USSR.

Table 1

Superpower Reactions to the Afghanistan Crisis	
USSR	U.S.A.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Afghanistan is a border neighbour within the Soviet sphere of influence.• The USSR had supported the government of Afghanistan before 1979 and supported the new government led by Karmal.• Afghanistan is close to oil supplies for the U.S. and the West.• The USSR was afraid that a Muslim revolution in Afghanistan might spill over into Muslims in the USSR. They would then pressure the Soviets for self-determination.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Afghanistan is a neighbour of Iran, with which the U.S.A. had close links before the removal of the Shah and the seizure of U.S. hostages.• Afghanistan is close to Middle East oilfields. These are very important to the U.S.• The U.S.A. feared an increase in Soviet power in the Middle East. This would upset the balance of power.• The U.S.A. was afraid that the Soviets might advance towards the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf for southern water ports for the Soviet navy, thus extending the Soviet sphere of influence.

Table 2

Afghanistan: Great Power Interest and Involvement

 U.S.A.	<p>Ban on U.S. athletes taking part in 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow</p>	<p>U.S. grain shipments to USSR stopped</p> 	<p>President Carter sends 1800 marines to U.S. base in Arabian Sea area</p>	<p>U.S. offers support to Afghan rebels and Pakistan</p> 
 USSR	<p>Soviet statement: Soviet troops were invited into Afghanistan by government</p> 	<p>More troops flown in early in 1980</p> 	<p>USSR to give financial support to new Afghan government</p> 	<p>Mr. Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, warns U.S. to end its outside interference</p>
 CHINA	<p>Chinese criticism of Soviet action</p> 	<p>China states that it supports Afghan rebels against the USSR</p> 	<p>Chinese Foreign Minister flies to Islamabad in Pakistan and promises increased military support</p>	<p>China votes against USSR's action in the UN</p> 

16. How is the concept of self-determination important to the crisis in Afghanistan?

17. Is Afghanistan within the Soviet's sphere of influence? Explain.

18. Why is Afghanistan important to the USSR?

19. Complete the concept map that follows on great-power interest and involvement in the Afghanistan crisis. Fill in actions taken by the superpowers. One has been done to get you started.

- said it was invited into Afghanistan



20. What is the present status of the situation in Afghanistan?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

Activity 3: The American Sphere of Influence – Central America and the Caribbean

Like the USSR in eastern Europe and Afghanistan, the U.S.A. worried about changes in government policies in Central American countries. The U.S.A. feared that these nations were moving towards communism, and the U.S. government would not allow part of its sphere of influence to be controlled by its rival superpower.

Central America



1. Study the readings that follow and complete the chart that comes after them. (Note that these readings are several years old and, in some cases now, somewhat out of date.)



Guatemala

POLITICS Ruled by military dictators since US-assisted coup overthrew the democratic government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. Most recent coup ousted General Efraín Ríos Montt, a born-again Christian considered too liberal by the country's oligarchy. Current leader is Brigadier Oscar Mejía Victores – a hard-line anticommunist.

THE WAR Scattered guerrilla forces have fought from mountain strongholds since late 1950s; peasant support and government repression have accelerated since late 1970s. The army is the largest and most sophisticated in Central America, trained in counter-insurgency techniques by US advisers. Recent military aid will help General Mejía escalate the army's campaign against the guerrillas.

HUMAN RIGHTS More than 100 000 civilians have been killed by government forces in the last decade. Rule by law nonexistent. Church workers estimate up to 1 million internal refugees and 100 000 more in Mexico.

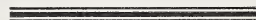


El Salvador

POLITICS 1982 elections vaulted right-winger Major Robert D'Aubuisson into power with Alvarado Magaña as figurehead president. The main opposition force, the *Democratic Revolutionary Front* (FDR), boycotted the elections because of death threats to its leadership by right-wing groups. Guerrilla forces have proposed direct negotiations with the US and Salvadoran governments to achieve a political solution. In 1984, José Duarte was elected President.

THE WAR Guerrilla forces were formed in the early 1970s. *Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front* (FMLN) is a tightly-organized fighting force of an estimated 10 000. Government troops are armed, trained and advised by the US, which has poured hundreds of millions of dollars of aid into the country since 1980.

HUMAN RIGHTS Atrocities, deaths and "disappearances" by right-wing death squads and army make El Salvador a human rights nightmare. Civilian killings continue at 400-500 a month. After years of delay, five government soldiers were imprisoned for the murders of four US nuns.¹



¹ New Internationalist for the excerpt from *The New Internationalist*, December 1983. Reprinted by permission of *The New Internationalist*.

===== Honduras =====

POLITICS President Roberto Suazo Cordova elected in 1981 after 18 years of military dictatorship. Real power is still vested in the army led by General Gustavo Alvarez, a hardline right-winger. Power behind the throne is US Ambassador, John Negroponte, who oversees the US military build-up.

THE WAR Main base of US action against the Sandinistas and Salvadoran guerrillas. Air strips, radar stations and new troop training facilities are being built. There are more than 300 US military advisers and technicians, 180 Green Berets, over 150 CIA agents and about 200 US soldiers in the country. Contras (anti-government forces) operate freely inside Honduras.

HUMAN RIGHTS "Human rights are an invention to protect terrorists" says army leader General Alvarez. Violations by armed forces have increased since 1982, with outspoken government opponents targeted for murder.

=====

===== Nicaragua =====

POLITICS The 1979 revolution led by *Frente Sandinista* (FSLN) replaced the Somoza family dictatorship. Power now rests in the hands of the nine-member National Directorate of the FSLN. Attempts to initiate local involvement through neighbourhood committees, co-operatives and trade unions have been made. Elections are scheduled for 1985.

THE WAR Prime target of US-backed war efforts in the region. Some 12-18 000 guerrillas, split into three main groups, extensively assisted by the CIA, attack from bases in Honduras and Costa Rica. Most of the CIA aid, in the largest CIA operation since Vietnam, goes to former Somoza national guardsmen. Fighting has not undermined popular support for the Sandinistas.

HUMAN RIGHTS Sandinistas have admitted "errors" in their early dealings with the Miskito Indians but stand by their right to relocate 8000 Indians from the border war zone. Political parties permitted; few cases of torture, "disappearances" or political murder; press censorship is still in operation.¹

=====

¹ New Internationalist for the excerpt from *The New Internationalist*, December 1983. Reprinted by permission of *The New Internationalist*.



1. Central America

Country	Politics	The War	Human Rights
Guatemala			
El Salvador			
Honduras			
Nicaragua			

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 3.

Common Characteristics

Most of the conflicts in Central America have similar characteristics. Obviously each country experiences events unique to their situation; however, here are some common threads, found through all of Central America.

Civil war: a war waged by people of the same state on opposing sides

- In cases of **civil war**, the political left is often supported by the USSR and the political right is often supported by the U.S.A.
- Most often the conflicts are economic in nature.
 - There can be an uneven distribution of wealth.
 - There is often almost no middle class.
 - The very wealthy usually own most of the land. The large majority of people own tiny plots or no land at all.
 - The majority of people live in continual poverty.
 - There is often substandard housing.
 - There is often a shortage of clean drinking water.
 - There is often malnutrition.
 - There is often a high infant-mortality rate and a short life expectancy.
 - The average income has often dropped considerably.
 - There is as much as a 50 percent drop in standard of living, which was already one of the lowest in the world.
 - Poor economic conditions breed revolution. Popular movements are fighting for a better quality of life and freedom.
- Central America is the “backyard” of the U.S.A. It is within the American sphere of influence.
 - American policy is to protect the status quo.
 - More than a half a dozen times the U.S. has given military support to right-wing, pro-American governments.
 - The Reagan administration took an aggressive policy in Central America.
 - It openly encouraged and supported regimes loyal to the U.S.
 - It supported the existing right-wing governments.
 - It claimed that local revolutionaries were a “virus imported from eastern Europe.”
 - It supported the right-wing Contras in Nicaragua, whom Reagan called “freedom fighters,” against the Marxist Sandinista government.
 - In 1984 the media revealed that the U.S. government had aided the Contras against the wishes of the U.S. Congress.
- To maintain the balance of power, the USSR has become involved.
 - Nicaragua’s communist Sandinista government is an ally of the USSR.
 - The chances of conflict increase when both superpowers are involved.

Canada's Involvement in Central America

Canada does not directly supply arms and military assistance to any group fighting in Central America.

Our government concentrates on helping the ones affected most by the wars – the people.

- Canadian aid to Central America has tripled to \$106 million over the last five years. This is second only to the Caribbean in per capita contribution.
- Nongovernmental groups with federal funding are working with the people on such programs as repairing machinery, building houses, and developing water purification systems. Albertans have played an important part in such programs.
- Using our experience in peacekeeping and our positive reputation in Central America, Canada has offered to design a peacekeeping plan.

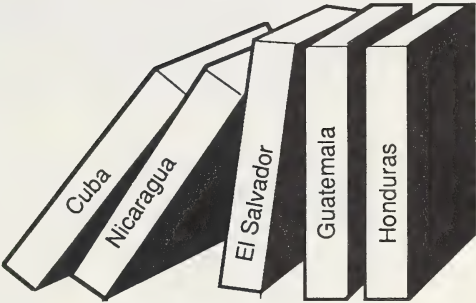
Now do the exercise that follows.

2. Describe four common characteristics of the conflicts in Central America.

3. List three ways in which Canada has become involved in the Central American conflict.



The Domino Theory: America’s View of the Crisis in Central America



4. According to this cartoon, which Central American countries have the U.S. been afraid would fall “like dominoes” to the communists?

5. In more detail, explain the meaning of this cartoon, using the terms “sphere of influence” and “containment” in your explanation.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 3.

The Caribbean – Grenada

Since Cuba became communist, the U.S. government has worked to contain communism within existing Caribbean countries, which are within the American sphere of influence. When the Reagan administration believed that Grenada was soon to join the communist bloc, he sent in American armed forces to “restore democracy.”

Grenada is a small country in the Caribbean that was gradually moving to the left. The government of Grenada was receiving aid from communist countries, primarily Cuba. President Reagan was particularly upset about a Cuban-sponsored project to build an airstrip.

The Caribbean Sea



The American government was unhappy with the situation in Grenada. Reagan's administration believed that the communist presence in the Caribbean upset the balance of power in the region and threatened the American sphere of influence. Why did Reagan invade Grenada? He may have believed that the communists were planning a coup. Opponents of Reagan's policy claim that he used Grenada as an excuse to build his own image as a tough, militant anticommunist. Grenada would provide Reagan with an easy military victory.



Now complete the following.

6. Where is Grenada?

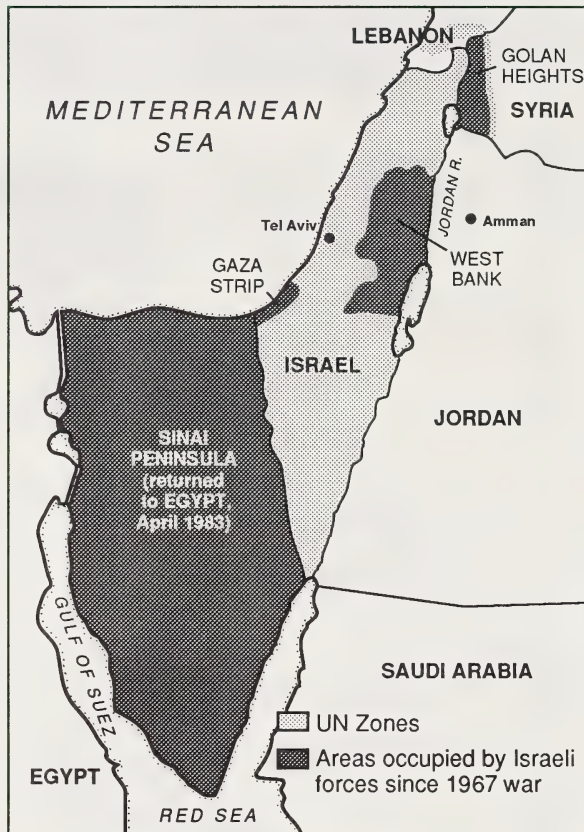
7. Why did American troops invade Grenada?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 3.

Clearly, then, the U.S. regards the Caribbean and Central America as being within its sphere of influence and will intervene to protect the status quo.

Activity 4: The Superpowers and the Arab-Israeli Crisis

The Middle East, 1983-1984



Both superpowers have realized the enormous importance of the Middle East to the entire world. As in the regional proxy wars in Southeast Asia and Central America, the U.S.A. and USSR have, in the past, squared off on opposite sides in the Middle East to further their own interests, protect their allies, and preserve the balance of power.

Background

As you will recall from the previous module, the Israelis and Arabs have been fighting primarily over territory. Before 1948 most of Israel was known as Palestine, occupied by Arab Palestinians, Jews, and Christians. But after World War II, a mass exodus of Jews from Europe flooded Palestine.

By 1948 the Jewish nation of Israel was created. This immediately caused a war between Israel and the Arab nations of the Middle East.

A large group of Arab people lived in Palestine before the establishment of Israel. Many of these Palestinians have become refugees from their homeland, and many living in Israel are now fighting with the Israeli army in the streets.

Terrorism: unlawful acts of violence committed in an attempt to overthrow a government or to promote a cause

The Palestinians no longer have a national homeland. One million live in Israel and another million live elsewhere. Since 1967, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) has become the leader of the Palestinian people. Yasir Arafat, the leader, wants to replace Israel with a state in which Israelis and Palestinians are recognized as equals. The PLO has used **terrorism** to achieve two principal goals:

- to call world attention to their plight
- to attack Israel and its allies

One of the most famous terrorist attacks came during the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. The Palestinian guerrilla movement called "Black September" took eleven Israeli athletes hostage, killed several, and made a number of demands on the Israeli government. Israel says it will not negotiate with the PLO.

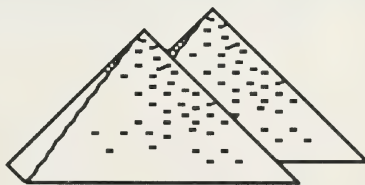
As you will recall, in 1956 war broke between Israel and the Arab world, this time over the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, a vital transportation route. Israel attacked Egypt with the help of Britain and France. A UN peacekeeping force was sent in. The Suez Canal was reopened.

Israel would be involved in confrontations with the Arab world three more times.

The Six Day War, 1967

By the 1960s Egypt was receiving a great amount of military aid from the USSR while Israel was heavily supported by the U.S.A. In 1967, Egyptian President Nasser, hoping to regain territory and reestablish prestige lost in the Suez Crisis, demanded that the UN withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula. When this was done, Nasser moved in Egyptian troops close to the Israeli army. Syria was afraid that Israel was going to attack it.

Tension grew until Israel, believing that it must attack first, attacked Egypt. Within a few days the Egyptian army had fallen, followed by Jordan's and Syria's. Israel took the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. Egypt had been humiliated, and Israel had established itself as the chief military presence in the Middle East.



The Yom Kippur War, 1973

On October 6, 1973, Arab forces equipped with Soviet weapons attacked from Egypt and Syria, hoping to catch Israel by surprise on the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur and regain lost Arab territory. With American aid, Israel counterattacked, taking more land from Syria and crossing the Suez Canal into Egypt.

The UN arranged a cease-fire by October 24, and a peacekeeping force was again sent. Egypt and Syria withdrew.

Lebanon, 1982

By 1982, the PLO had dealt Israel some devastating blows. They had assassinated a number of Israelis abroad and were using bases in Lebanon to shell northern Israeli settlements. In June of 1982 an important Israeli official was shot by the PLO in London. Israel decided to attack PLO bases in Lebanon and destroy its strength. Israel had three goals:

- to destroy the terrorist threat from the PLO in Lebanon
- to set up a stable government in Lebanon
- to establish a forty-kilometre-wide buffer zone policed by an international peacekeeping force

Public opinion among Israel's allies, and within the country itself, was divided over the occupation of Lebanon. In 1985, Israel moved out of Lebanon, but inner turmoil in and out of Beirut is still the order of the day. Border incidents and terrorism continue to block peace efforts. The conflict simmers.

The West has to date been sympathetic to the cause of Israel. But lately negative publicity about the management of the PLO Intifada conflict and Temple Mount deaths in Jerusalem has made people in the West more critical of Israel. Internally and externally Israel is having more and more trouble dealing with the Palestinian question.



1. Using the preceding reading, complete the chart that follows.

Conflict	Israeli Reasons for Fighting	Arab Reasons for Fighting
Six Day War, 1967	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
Yom Kippur War, 1973	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
Lebanon, 1982	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div>

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 4.

Superpower Involvement in the Arab-Israeli Crises

At times the superpowers have worked very hard to restore order and keep the peace in the Middle East. However, by supporting opposite sides in the conflict, the U.S.A. and USSR have also fanned the flames of war.

Cartoon A: The Superpowers in Lebanon



1

Cartoon B: The Superpowers Lend a Hand



2

One comment on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The two are kept fighting by transfusions of arms from Nixon, representing the United States, and Brezhnev, representing the Soviet Union. (Les Gibbard)

^{1,2} Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the two cartoons. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.



Study Cartoons A and B and answer the following questions.

Cartoon A:

2. In order, starting with the most powerful, list the countries and groups on each side of the conflict in Lebanon.

3. What conclusion can you draw from the cartoon about international involvement in Lebanon?

Cartoon B:

4. What two countries do the men holding the bottles represent?

5. What two countries or groups are represented by the men attacking one another?

6. What is this cartoon saying about superpower involvement in the Arab-Israeli Crisis?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 4.

In general then, the Arab-Israeli conflict has been

- a conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians over a homeland
- a conflict between Israel and the Arab world over cultural, religious, political, and territorial differences
- an indirect confrontation between the superpowers

OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries): an international cartel that has considerable influence in determining supply, demand, and price of oil

Cartel: an agreement concerning pricing and production among major producing countries of a particular commodity

In 1973 the Arab world led the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** in a successful attempt at controlling the world's oil supply, and in turn, price. The resulting energy crisis made the world, and especially the superpowers, more sensitive to the importance of petroleum and energy.

The Middle East, therefore, became even more important to the superpowers.

Peace Plans

The road to peace in the Middle East has been an extremely complex, and often frustrating, one. Peace plans and interventions by the UN, as well as numerous foreign government officials, have merely postponed much of the violence. This does not mean that peace between Israel and the Arab world is unattainable; but the struggle is a complex one.

Study the chart on the following page and answer the questions that come after it.

Middle East Peace Plans, 1979-1982

Proposals for:	Camp David 1979	Saudi Plan 1981	Fez Plan 1982	Reagan Plan 1982
West Bank and Gaza	Within a month of Treaty being ratified, negotiations to begin on Palestinian 'autonomy.' Elections to appoint a self governing authority: Israeli withdrawal over a five-year period. Talks in abeyance since 1982.	Israeli withdrawal. UN control for a period of a few months. The establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as capital.	Based on Saudi plan; reports spoke of a call for a 'mini-state' under PLO, which would have a 'guiding role.' UN forces as peacekeepers.	Palestinians to be given complete autonomy 'in association with Jordan.' Opposition to further Israeli settlements. No mention of PLO or independent state. King Hussein speaks of Jordanian-Palestinian 'federation.'
Jerusalem		Key role as capital of independent state.		Reagan rules out division of Jerusalem
Sinai	Israeli withdrawal in three years. UN peacekeeping force to be set up in buffer zone.	As elsewhere, immediate Israeli withdrawal required.	Israeli withdrawal completed April 1982	
Recognition	Recognition of Egyptian and Israeli territorial integrity and rights to live in peace.	Confirmation of right of all countries of the region to live in peace.	As in 'Saudi plan.'	Israel's security to be guaranteed by the U.S.

¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the excerpt from *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Cooperation*. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.



7. What does the preceding table tell you about the following?

a. The success of peace plans:

b. The involvement of the superpowers in the Middle East peace process:

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 4.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

This section has been structured around a number of key concepts; it is important that you understand these concepts fully.

You have seen these concepts illustrated in a number of international situations – the war in Vietnam, the situations in Czechoslovakia and Poland, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, American intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East Crisis.

The chart that follows is designed to help you review and improve your understanding of the material in Section 2.



1. Complete the following chart, defining the key concepts of this section and giving for each at least two examples of conflicts that illustrate that concept, along with a justification for each.

Concept	Definition	Conflict	Justification
Sphere of Influence	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
Balance of Power	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
Expansionism	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
Containment	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
Self-determination	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Extra Help.

Enrichment

The conflict in Afghanistan is far from over. Tensions and old wounds have made for a very unstable situation even today. What has happened since many of the major stakeholders in the conflict have withdrawn?

1. Read the article entitled “Another Lebanon?” and do the exercise that follows.



Another Lebanon?

*Invading troops from the Soviet Union
have now left Afghanistan, but a civil
war that threatens to turn the country
into another Lebanon still rages*

The end of an invasion doesn't always mean peace. All too often, as in Afghanistan, it simply means more fighting as rival groups within the country struggle for power. For Afghans that means more bloodshed and suffering piled on top of nine long years of it.

The Soviet Union invaded

Afghanistan in December 1979. Its chief reasons for doing so were: (a) to prop up a weak Communist government, and, (b) to prevent Muslim fundamentalists from seizing power. There are 50 million Muslims within Soviet Russia, and many of them live near the Afghanistan border. Moscow fears Islamic revolution might stir up its

AFGHANISTAN AT A GLANCE

Population	15 million
Life expectancy	37.2 male, 37.9 female
Literacy rate	12%
Religions	Islam (Sunni 74%, Shiite 25%)
Gross Domestic Product	\$3.5 billion
Per capita annual income	\$160
Key economic activities	Textiles, cement, cotton, wheat, fruit, copper
Major trading partners	Soviet Union and Soviet bloc countries
Cities	Kabul (capital) 750,000, Kandahar 225,000, Herat 150,000

own restless Muslims.

The invasion was a costly mistake for the Soviets. Rebel guerrilla groups, called *mujahedeen*, have been armed by the United States. They defied as many as 115,000 Soviet troops over the next nine years, killing 13,000 of them and wounding another 35,000. And Moscow is no nearer to achieving its original goals today.

When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he looked for a way out. Negotiations for peace were going on at the United Nations, Gorbachev made concessions, and in February 1988, he announced the Soviet Union was ready to withdraw. By mid-February of this year, the last Red Army contingents left Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, on their way home.

That left two warring groups in a country already torn apart by war. The government of President Najibullah and an Afghan regular army control Kabul and most of the major cities. Seven groups of *mujahedeen* control much of the countryside. Najibullah has offered to share power with them in a national government, but they consistently turn him down and vow to topple him.

The *mujahedeen* themselves are deeply divided. They range from fundamentalist Shiite Muslims to Sunni moderates, with Sunnis a majority. They squabbled over how much power would go to each in a government-in-exile. Rebel chiefs finally agreed, late in February, to choose a moderate for president and a fundamentalist for prime minister. Iran-based guerrillas, however, boycotted the meetings and

said they were not bound by the decision. The civil war goes on, with no clear victory so far for either side. Some kind of political compromise seems the only clear hope for peace.

Peace would be only the first fragile step toward rebuilding a country which has been turned into rubble. "Whole regions have been devastated as if they have been nuked," said Anders Fange, a Swedish aid official. "The people have gone, leaving only ruins, wild dogs, flies, and rats."

Imagine being part of a nation in which the following things have happened:

- In a country of only 15 million people, more than 1.3 million Afghans have died in the conflict. Many were civilians.
- Tens of thousands have been crippled by bombs and mines. Thousands more have been widowed or orphaned.
- Three quarters of the country's 22,000 villages have been levelled or abandoned.
- Afghans form the world's largest single refugee population. About five million of them have fled across borders, three million to Pakistan, two million to Iran. Many more have become uprooted wanderers within the country.
- In a nation where 85% of the people come from rural areas, survival depends on agriculture. During the years of conflict, farm production has fallen to less than half of pre-war levels. The decline is due to the flight of farm labour, the loss of oxen for plowing, and the lack of fertilizers.
- Education and health care have suffered with the bombing or shelling of schools, health centres, roads, and bridges. Fewer than 15% of children attend primary school. More than 100,000 Afghan teachers, doctors, and engineers have fled the country.

If and when the refugees return and start the job of rebuilding, there are mammoth problems ahead.

International aid agencies are ready to help, and the UN is preparing a \$1-billion aid program. Moscow has announced a \$120-million reconstruction plan and says it will be contributing \$600 million to the UN program. Here are some of the challenges:

- How to make the refugees' return coincide with the food-growing season. Wheat, the principal grain, must be planted in November for harvesting in May.
 - How to dispose of the thousands of mines which lie unexploded. Some are disguised as toys, dolls, pens, radios, cigarette packages, and watches. There are trip-wire mines, pressure mines, and seismic mines triggered by vibrations. Both sides have sown them, and their removal must be the first step toward renewed farming.
 - How to bring in enough seed, fertilizer, and pesticides and distribute them over heavily damaged, mine-strewn roads.
 - How to provide enough food to tide over refugees until they can begin producing it themselves.
 - How to repair an ancient system of irrigation canals that has been largely destroyed.
 - How to provide even minimal housing. Mud huts can be rebuilt, but wood for roof beams is scarce.
- Cold facts and figures can't describe the toll in human lives and suffering in Afghanistan. Nor can they measure the awesome task of rebuilding lives and the economy from scratch. Yet, in spite of everything, there may be a silver lining in what Afghans have gone through.

Amin Arsala, an Afghan economist, says that despite the suffering, "I think the war has ultimately strengthened the Afghans." Bernard Dupaigne, a French specialist on Afghanistan, says, "They have fought together against a huge nation . . . This has given them confidence. They have also become

more sophisticated, more modern, and they know that they can never go back as before.”

For example, they have learned the benefits of health care, education, and modern technology. Farmers are now aware of better agricultural methods and machinery. Contact with foreigners

has made Afghans more adept at dealing with outsiders. Most important, perhaps, Afghans now feel a sense of pride in their nationhood.

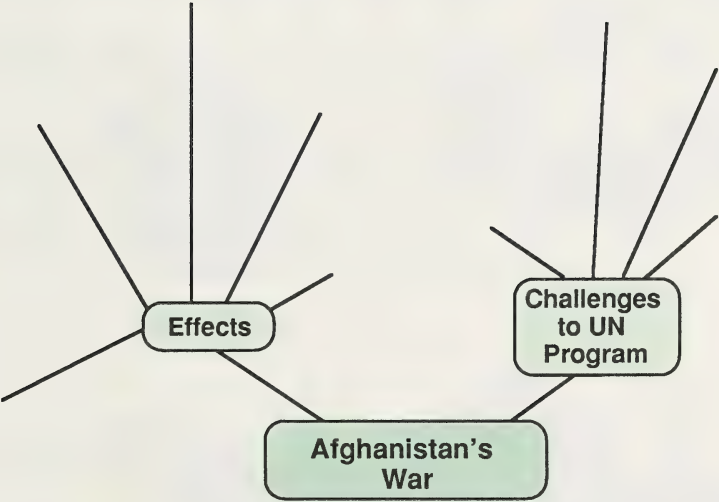
Peace and unity may still be far away, but confidence, awareness, and pride may be the building blocks for a stronger future.¹



1. How does the present state of affairs threaten to make Afghanistan “another Lebanon”?

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the excerpt from *Canada and the World* “Another Lebanon?” May, 1989. p. 6-7. Reprinted by permission of R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd.

2. Complete the following concept map.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Enrichment.

Conclusion

From your study of conflict in eastern Europe, Central America, and the Middle East, you can draw the following general conclusions. For each of these generalizations, try to think of at least one country in conflict that you studied in Section 3 that illustrates it.

- A shift in the balance of power results in changed relationships among nations.
- Decolonization and the emergence of new nations have influenced the foreign policies of the superpowers.
- The superpowers have faced pressures of self-determination within their spheres of influence.

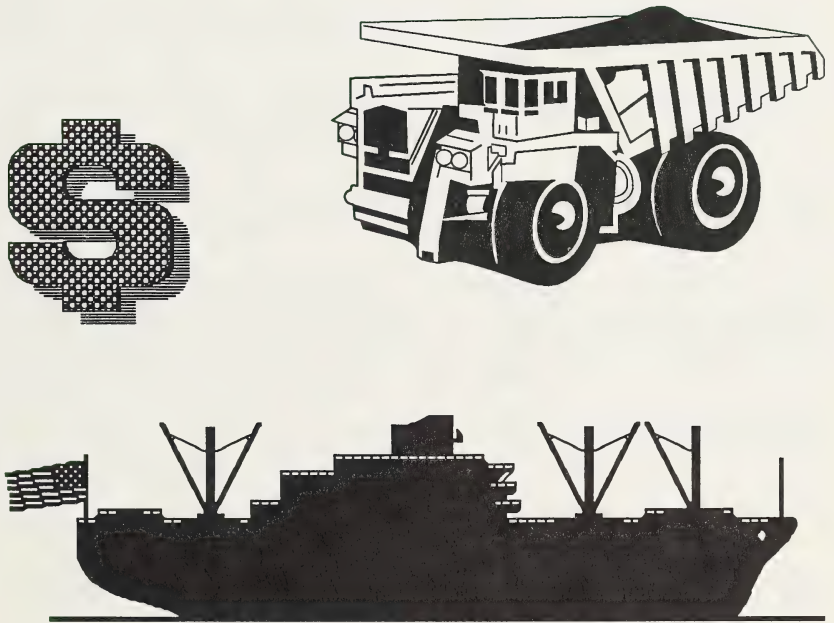
The material in this section concerns events that have occurred very recently. It is probable that some of the situations will have changed – perhaps drastically – by the time you are doing this course. Nevertheless, the concepts and principles hold true, and the material here will give you a good grounding in the situations that should allow you to understand more recent events.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

There is no assignment for this section.

Economic Development and Global Interactions



We Canadians pay taxes on imports – such things as blue jeans, cars, televisions, and computers. Most of the goods that we import come from the U.S., Europe, or the Pacific Rim countries.

Many people believe that consumers and economic systems would be better off if these trade barriers were removed. Recently, many governments have created policies that promote better economic cooperation with other countries.

In this section you will look at regional and global attempts at economic cooperation. Through the study of various regional and international organizations, you should come to understand the following:

- the concept of economic cooperation
- the way in which cartels can create both economic cooperation and conflict
- the role of the multinational corporation in creating economic cooperation and economic conflict
- the positive and negative consequences of protectionism and free trade

Activity 1: From Protectionism to Economic Cooperation

Throughout Western history nations have competed for economic trade in the world but have also found it necessary to trade with each other. All industrial European nations such as Britain and France wanted to gain advantage over their competitor countries and prevent other nations from doing the same. To protect their national economies, these countries often used **tariffs**. Such **protectionism** often forced other nations to retaliate with tariffs of their own.

Tariff: tax on imported goods

Protectionism: a government policy designed to shelter locally produced goods from less expensive imports with the goal of preserving jobs in the country

Yet few countries, if any, can be totally self-sufficient. International trade, therefore, is necessary for two reasons:

- The country cannot grow certain foods (e.g., bananas) or produce certain raw materials (e.g., copper for plumbing).
- The country has not developed the skill to produce certain goods, and it is cheaper to import them than to compete.

Protectionism, then, broke down economic cooperation. The practice of a national government to impose tariffs either to gain advantage or retaliate against other protectionist governments became common. The chain reaction of tariffs and duties spread throughout the world. Trade wars often ensued.

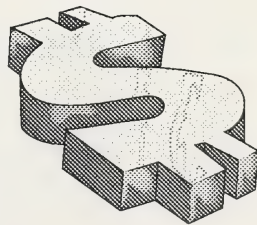
Here are two main reasons for which governments restrict imports through protectionist policies:

- to protect a debtor country (It cannot afford to buy more imports.)
- to protect domestic industries from outside competition (This should encourage consumers to buy goods made in their own country.)

These actions can produce understandable problems.

Protectionism is dangerous for two reasons:

- It cuts back the total volume of world trade; this can lead to increased unemployment.
- Quarrels over problems of trade can lead to war.



In our century economic affairs have changed drastically. At the turn of the century, much of world trade revolved around imperialist countries like Britain, Germany, France, and the U.S.A. But by the end of World War II, colonial empires were crumbling.

EEC (European Economic Community): an international organization of nations that have cooperated to reduce and eliminate tariffs against member states and impose restrictive measures against nonmembers. It is also known as the "Common Market."



The once-great European powers were rapidly losing stature and clout, having absorbed the losses of both world wars. North America, however, entered into an unprecedented boom following World War II, and continued to enjoy prosperous times through the 1960s. Almost all nations agreed that international cooperative efforts to avoid any future world conflicts were imperative.

Since 1945, then, many projects have been launched to promote **economic cooperation** on a global and regional scale. One of the first of these was the **Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)**, an organization comprising eighteen European countries. It was formed in 1948 to administer the funds of the Marshall plan, the American postwar European aid plan. The OEEC is the predecessor of the modern EEC.

1. Using the term "tariff" in your discussion, describe how the practice of **protectionism** can spread throughout the world.

2. What is a trade war?

3. Why do some governments resort to protectionist economic policies?

4. How does protectionism break down economic cooperation?

5. What historical conditions in the twentieth century created an environment for greater economic cooperation

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 1.

Activity 2: International Economic Cooperation – the United Nations

The need for economic cooperation was evident after World War II. As you learned in Module 6, one of the aims of the United Nations was development of depressed economies of the world. Understandably, the UN wanted to achieve this goal through cooperation.

A great array of organizations work through the UN's Economic and Social Council to promote international economic cooperation. Since one of the greatest causes of conflict is poverty and resultant human misery, economic cooperation can prevent violence at every level.

GATT (General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade): an international UN organization that works to reduce tariffs

IMF (International Monetary Fund): a UN agency established in 1945 to assist countries in meeting imbalances of payments in order to facilitate greater trade

World Bank: an international bank for reconstruction and development: a UN agency established in 1945 to provide loans to UN member-states for economic development

WHO (World Health Organization): the specialized agency of the UN which deals with world health

FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization): the specialized agency of the UN that deals with world problems of food supplies and improvement in farming throughout the world

Five major kinds of economic work in the UN Economic and Social Council are as follows

- service that promotes efficiency, e.g., the Universal Postal Union or the International Civil Aviation Organization
- conferences on world problems, e.g., the World Food Conference in Rome, 1972
- help for those in distress, e.g., High Commissioner of Refugees, Disaster Relief Coordinator
- improvement of trade and prosperity, e.g., the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)**, the **International Monetary Fund**, the **World Bank**,
- Technical assistance, e.g., the **World Health Organization (WHO)**, the **Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)**
- Educational, cultural, and scientific work, e.g. the **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)**.

Case Studies

IMF – International Monetary Fund

Function	Method
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IMF provides needy countries with development loans. • IMF stabilizes international exchange of goods by keeping international currencies stable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IMF members contribute to the fund to help needy members to pay loans on which they default. • IMF makes sure that member nations' currencies remain stable against powerful currencies like the U.S. dollar.

World Bank



Function	Method
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Bank helps poor countries to acquire capital needed for development projects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Bank provides loans at a rate of interest lower than the prevailing rate.




Although these two agencies help Third World nations to develop their economies, these countries must still borrow from other sources. Combined with loans from the IMF, other outstanding international debts can be crushing to these needy nations' economies.

Use the chart that follows to complete the exercise that comes after it.



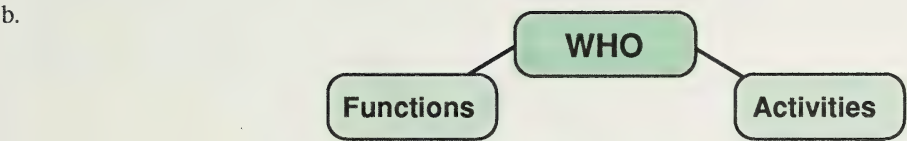
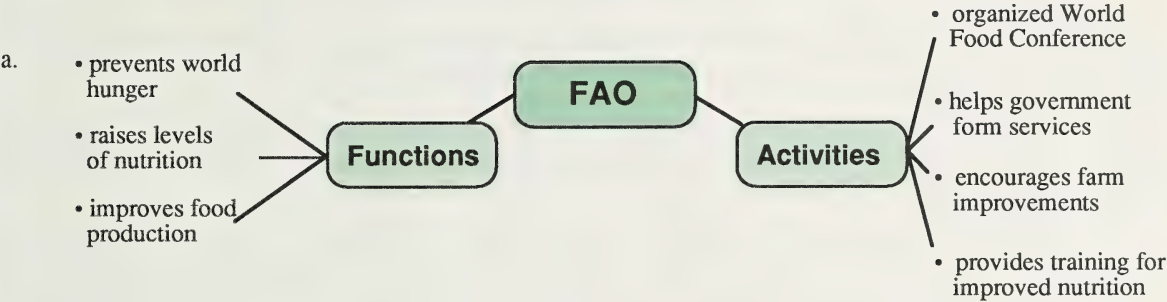
The Work of UN Agencies: A Summary

Name of the agency	Main function	Activities
<p>Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)</p> 	<p>To raise levels of nutrition throughout the world and prevent world hunger by improving the efficiency of the production and supply of food</p>	<p>Organized the world food conference in Rome in 1974 to get international agreement on world food problems.</p> <p>Helps to establish government agricultural services in the developing countries to bring modern agricultural programmes and scientific discoveries to the attention of farmers.</p> <p>Encourages developments in irrigation, fertilizers, high-yield crops, pesticides, livestock farming and animal diseases, fisheries and forestry work.</p> <p>Helps governments train people to devise programmes to improve nutrition in their countries.</p>
<p>World Health Organization (WHO)</p> 	<p>To help promote the highest possible level of health throughout the world</p>	<p>Helps governments build up their own health services and provides them with technical assistance and aid.</p> <p>Carries out research and collects information on problems of world health.</p> <p>Co-ordinates and initiates campaigns aimed at wiping out major diseases in the world, e.g. tuberculosis, trachoma, leprosy, cholera. Malaria has been virtually cleared out in the Americas, North Africa, parts of Asia and the Western Pacific; greatly reduced in India and Pakistan, although it is still serious in Africa south of the Sahara.</p> <p>Makes efforts to overcome the world-wide shortage of doctors, nurses and health workers. Because of the cost of health services, it has encouraged developing countries to develop 'primary health care,' i.e. workers who are not doctors but can deal with simple illness and emergencies.</p>

<p>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)</p> 	<p>To promote the progress of education throughout the world and to develop science and the arts</p>	<p>Works in the fields of education, science, social science, culture and communication.</p> <p>Encourages international co-operation to establish compulsory primary education throughout most of the developing world.</p> <p>Encourages international co-operation in science.</p> <p>Encourages international co-operation to safeguard the world's store of books and works of art. It works to save monuments; its most spectacular campaign was to save the ancient Egyptian monuments of Nubia from submersion by the Nile upon the completion of the Aswan Dam.</p>
<p>United Nation Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)</p> 	<p>To help children who are in need, especially the poorest children in the poorest areas of the world</p>	<p>Helps governments to set up projects in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> mother and child health, e.g. safe delivery of babies mass disease-control campaigns – works alongside WHO nutrition family and child welfare services and organizes emergency relief for children during disasters.
<p>International Labour Organization (ILO)</p> 	<p>To improve working conditions throughout the world.</p>	<p>Set up an international Labour Code on many aspects of working conditions such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> employment/unemployment conditions of work employment of children, young persons and women industrial health, safety and welfare industrial relations migrant workers. <p>These act as guidelines for the member-countries.</p>



1. Using the preceding chart, complete a summary concept map for WHO and UNESCO. A map for FAO has been done for you as an example.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

As you learned in Activity 1, tariffs have been a barrier to economic cooperation. Many countries have come to believe that economic prosperity is more easily achieved when there is a free exchange of goods among the world's nations. Removing trade barriers should do the following:

- expand markets for producers, bringing them more profits
- make for increased competition among producers, which will provide more lower-priced goods for consumers

A UN agency, GATT (the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade), strives to enhance economic cooperation by establishing the lowest possible standard of tariffs.

Most noncommunist nations have joined GATT. They meet on a regular basis to review the condition of world trade and make arrangements for freer trade. It is important to note that together, the three giants in GATT – the European Economic Community, the U.S., and Japan – represent one-half of all world trade. They all have economic differences, but GATT attempts to minimize these differences, promote economic cooperation, and give smaller nations a chance.



2. What are two beneficial effects of removing trade barriers?

3. How does GATT promote better economic cooperation?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.



Activity 3: Regional Economic Cooperation – the European Economic Community

By 1945 it became clear that economic cooperation was essential to Europe. At the end of World War II, Europe was devastated. Thousands of people had been killed or wounded, buildings and lands had been razed, and economies were bankrupt. Eastern Europe had been essentially annexed by the USSR. The Cold War had replaced the hot war of 1939 to 1945.

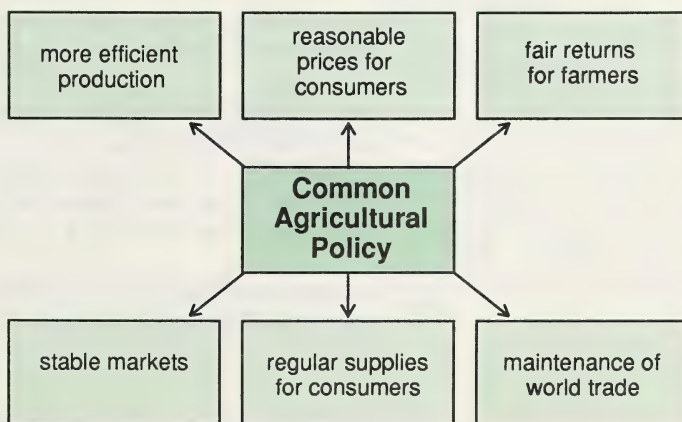
Many western European leaders felt that they must cooperate more closely to defend themselves against the Soviet Union. Some people believed that if a United States of Europe were created, another global war could be prevented. It was generally accepted that political unity would result from the positive consequences of economic cooperation. In 1957, representatives of six European nations gathered in Rome. They signed the Treaty of Rome which established a common market among those six countries – Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

The Common Market developed through three separate organizations:

ECSC (The European Coal and Steel Community): a European organization set up to pave the way for economic unity by placing its six founding members' coal and steel in a single common market.

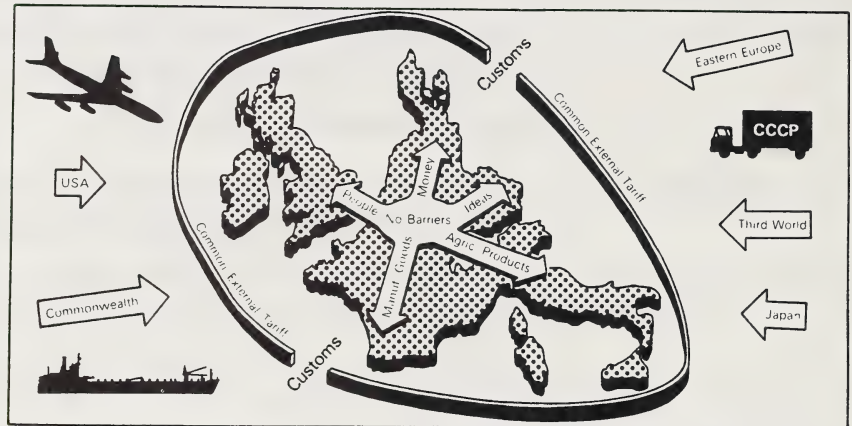
- **ECSC – The European Coal and Steel Community** (Formed in 1952.)
- **Euratom – the European Atomic Energy Community** (Formed in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome.): The same six countries formed this organization to cooperate in nuclear research.
- **EEC – the European Economic Community:** This has been the most important European organization. Its aim is to
 - abolish tariffs among member nations
 - establish common agriculture and food policies

Aims of the Common Agricultural Policy



¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the excerpt from *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation*. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.

Tariffs in the Contemporary World



By signing the Treaty of Rome, the six countries agreed to the following:

- free trade within the EEC – a gradual removal of tariffs and custom duties
- a common customs barrier of all member countries against all nonmember countries
- free movement of citizens and workers of member countries from one part of the EEC to another
- the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) – a plan to encourage the development and improvement of farming in all parts of the Community
- political unity – In the long term it is hoped there will be political unity through the European Parliament.
- a European Social Fund – Money to be made available to areas in the EEC which have serious problems, e.g., high unemployment or poor housing
- a European Investment Bank to provide money for huge projects that a single country would be unable to afford

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Problems and Achievements: a Summary

Achievements

1 Membership

In over 25 years since the EC [European Community] was set up, no full member country has left. Other countries, e.g. Spain, Portugal and Turkey, wish to join. [Spain and Portugal joined the EC in 1986]



2 Trade

Customs union has worked. Trade barriers have been removed within the EC and internal trade has increased. There are also trade agreements with over 84 countries outside the EC.

3 Agriculture

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has kept some security of food supplies to EC members, while world supplies varied. Also CAP subsidies have prevented many farmers from losing their jobs and farms.



4 Regional policy

Money from the EC's Regional Fund has helped projects in poorer areas. Some of the major beneficiaries of regional aid have been Scotland, Ireland and Sicily.



Problems

1 Membership

Some members are not keen on increasing the membership. For example, France and Italy fear extra competition in Mediterranean foods, fruit and wine if Spain and Portugal join. West Germany and Britain fear that extra members may add to financial problems in the EC

2 Trade

There have been trade disputes between member-states. In 1984 French farmers temporarily prevented British and Belgian meat and Italian wine from being delivered in France.

3 Agriculture

Problems have arisen over the large amount in subsidies given to EC farmers, which is a tremendous drain on the budget. Overproduction has led to surplus of certain foods – 'wine lakes' and 'butter mountains.' In turn this has led to disputes between EC members and between the EC and other nations, including Canada.

4 Regional policy

There is a serious imbalance between rich and poor regions within the EC. Some areas, such as Scotland, have suffered serious problems of high unemployment as industries such as steel, coal and textiles run into economic difficulties. As Europe looks to the Mediterranean, the imbalance may grow worse.

5 Political union

The European Parliament has been in existence for 25 years. Direct elections to the European Parliament were held in 1979 and in 1984. Over 60 percent of the European electorate voted in the 1984 election. The Parliament provides a place for the discussion of common European problems



6 Budget

The sum of nearly \$20 billion was allocated for 1984 to help Europe's industry, agriculture and social conditions. There was an increased budget to tackle economic recession.



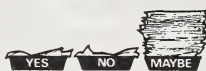
7 Language

Ten different countries send representatives to Parliament and other meetings to discuss problems. There is continuous translation of speeches in Parliament in all EC member languages. A European driving licence in several languages will be available from 1986.



8 Decision-making

Decision-making offers all members a chance to make their views known at a wide variety of committee meetings. EC ministers for fishing reached a decision on 1984 fishing quotas in one day.



5 Political union

The European Parliament still has no fixed base but moves expensively between Strasbourg, Brussels and Luxembourg. There are different forms of electoral systems for the European Parliament in various countries. Some people feel that they are too remote from their Euro MP in a constituency of about 500 000 people. Only 32 per cent of Britain's electorate bothered to vote in the 1984 election.

6 Budget

There is concern in the 1980s that EC budget spending is going beyond EC income. Only two countries, Britain and West Germany, are net contributors to the EC funds. In 1984 Britain claimed it was paying in too much and threatened to refuse to pay EC budget income if it did not get some money refunded.

7 Language

The wide variety of languages within the EC can make communication difficult. The EC spends many million of dollars a year on paper and printing costs for books, pamphlets and magazines in seven different languages. Translation of EC documents involves 40 percent of Commission staff.

8 Decision-making

'Europe is in a state of crisis—paralyzed by its inability to make decisions.' (Gaston Thorn, president of the European Commission 1983.) The interests of member-states still plague the EC. Critical issues such as rising unemployment and EC financing problems are not effectively dealt with because the member-states cannot agree on mutually acceptable solutions.

9 Fishing

EC Fishing Policy agreement was reached in 1983, after years of disagreement and hostility. Members' fishing is protected from outside competition. Fishing agreements were signed with Norway, the USSR, Greenland and Canada.



9 Fishing

British and Danish fishermen blame the EC for loss of jobs in the fishing industry, and for allowing non-member Norway to have herring quotas in EC waters.

10 World Trade

The EC forms a major world trading power. The EC has close trade links with the USA, but opposed the US ban on supplies to the Soviet gas pipeline construction in 1982 and opposed the US ban on European special steel in 1983. There was an agreement with Japan on the level of imports of Japanese video tape recorders in 1984. The EC also has trade links with COMECON (East European countries) and with Third World countries.



10 World Trade

There have been disputes in the EC over the continued import of New Zealand butter. Britain complained to France over its sale of Exocet missiles to Argentina. COMECON feels the EC is too closely linked with NATO.

11 Employment

Jobs would be created through regional aid in areas of high unemployment. In 1983 about \$3.5 million was allocated to job-creation schemes in Scotland.



11 Employment

Unemployment continues to rise in the EC. By early 1984 there were 12 million people unemployed. For young people under 25 years of age the rate was about 25 per cent.

12 Environment

The EC takes steps to check pollution of the environment. There have been checks on the amount of waste dumped into the River Rhine, and in 1981 there was an agreement to limit the discharge of mercury from EC chemical industries.



12 Environment

There is increasing radioactive pollution in the North Sea caused by nuclear waste from nuclear power industries in Britain, France and along the Rhine. In some parts of the Mediterranean, beaches are closed in summer because of sewage pollution. There is also growing concern over the effects of acid rain on Europe's forests and lakes.¹

¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the excerpt from *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation*. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.

Britain did not initially want to join the Common Market. It felt unique in Europe and did not want to jeopardize its trade relationship with the U.S.A. or the Commonwealth. Britain could not make these types of decisions if it gave up some independence to the Common Market.

However, Britain did understand the importance of economic cooperation. In 1959 it created the EFTA – the European Free Trade Association. Seven nations were loosely linked together in the EFTA.

Soon after, Britain began negotiations to join the EEC, though President Charles DeGaulle of France resisted its entrance until his death. Britain finally gained admittance in 1973.

Other Common Markets

Europe's EEC is the best known common market, but there are others. Two of the most important are listed here.

- **Comecon – Council for Mutual Economic Assistance:** This is a communist version of the Common Market established by the USSR. It allows for preferential trade deals for members of the communist bloc.
- **ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations:** This is an organization that promotes free trade among the noncommunist nations of Southeast Asia such as Thailand, Indonesia, and Burma.

EFTA (European Free Trade Association): a loose economic organization of seven European nations created in 1959

Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance): the communist equivalent of the Common Market

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations): an organization that promotes free trade among the noncommunist nations of Southeast Asia



1. On the map of Europe that follows, label the original six countries of the EEC.



2. Why did many west Europeans see a need for closer cooperation?

3. Name and describe the three organizations that led to the development of the European Common Market.

4. What was the EFTA?

5. When did Britain join the EEC?

6. What were the goals agreed upon by the six nations at the Rome Conference?

7. Name and describe two organizations that promote regional economic cooperation other than the EEC.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

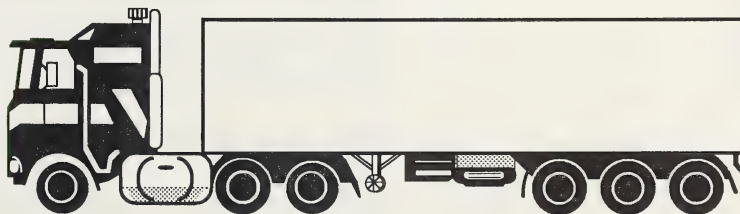
Activity 4: Multinational Corporations

Recently a new type of international force has emerged. Based mainly on economic concerns, **multinational corporations** have promoted economic cooperation while engaging in business in many nations of the world.

The end of World War II marked the real beginning or the emergence of this powerful economic force – the multinational corporation. Highly successful companies have expanded their trade operations to many different countries of the world. These corporations are called “multinationals” because they operate in many countries. Keeping a head office in one country, they set up **branch plants** and offices in others.

Multinational corporations: companies centred in one country that have expanded their trade operations to many countries of the world

They maintain branch plants in several countries and a head office in one.



Multinational corporations establish branch plant operations in other countries for the following reasons:

- **markets** – These corporations would like to find new buyers for their products.
- **raw materials** – The “mother country” in which the company operates may need new sources of raw materials to make the finished product.
- **cheaper labour** – Labour laws and cost of living may be lower in other countries; this is advantageous to labour-intensive companies.
- **tax advantages** – Tax laws may be more favorable in other countries; in fact, many governments lure multinationals into their countries with tax incentives.
- **antipollution laws** – These may be less strict in other countries.

For these reasons, multinational companies aggressively pursue the establishment of branch plants all over the world. Often the best locations for these operations are in the Third World. Countries in the **Pacific Rim**, such as Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore, provide multinationals with favourable sites. However, many of these countries themselves are establishing successful corporations which are seeking ways to move their companies into the developed world.

Pacific Rim countries: countries such as Taiwan, Korea, China, and Japan, which are becoming a formidable economic force in the world

Here is a list of some famous multinationals

- Exxon (or Esso) – American
- IBM (International Business Machines) – American
- ITT (International Telephone and Telecommunications) – American
- Royal Dutch Shell Oil – Dutch
- Mitsubishi – Japanese

Many people have argued that multinational corporations have had a positive impact on the world. They point out that multinationals have achieved the following results:

- They have transcended national interests by becoming truly international, thereby encouraging economic cooperation among many countries aiming toward common goals. They have replaced economic nationalism with international economic cooperation.
- They have brought jobs to other nations in need of work.
- They have provided international consumers with their products, thereby increasing choice.
- They have stimulated other business activity in the recipient countries.
- They have often brought broadly-based experience and technological know-how.

Oligopoly: an economic situation in which each of a few producers affects, but doesn't fully control, a market

Neocolonialism: a situation in which one country indirectly influences or controls a weaker country

Other people point out these problems created by multinationals:

- The streamlined effectiveness of multinational operations often gives them an edge over local business.
- Multinationals dealing in large numbers of products can produce and sell them at a cheaper rate, and can thereby establish **oligopolies** or monopolies.
- They can create a branch-plant economy where the recipient only supplies raw materials and cheap, relatively unskilled labour
- Few top-level managerial and executive positions are established in these countries.
- Governments in branch-plant economies do not encourage research and development; this is done in the mother country.
- Multinationals may not be sensitive to the needs of the environment in other countries.
- They may ignore or manipulate labour laws of other countries.
- The very size of these corporations makes it difficult to police their activities.
- **Neocolonialism** can develop, with strong nations using multinationals to dominate weaker nations through economic imperialism. Some multinationals have been linked to coups and revolutions which overthrew governments hostile to corporation interests.

Now do the exercise that follows.

1. What is a multinational corporation?

2. What are branch plants?

3. Give five reasons why multinationals set up branch plants in other countries.



Activity 5: Regional Economic Cooperation – the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The spirit of international economic cooperation has emerged as the prevailing approach among many western leaders such as former American President Reagan and British Prime Minister Thatcher. Canada's Prime Minister Mulroney believes that economic cooperation is essential to the growth of our country. One of the most important means to this end, Mulroney believes, is the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Although Canada enjoyed a postwar boom similar to the U.S.A.'s, problems began to emerge by the 1960s and 1970s. Inflation and unemployment took their toll, but one of the most pressing problems was foreign trade and investment.

Canadians bought foreign, mainly American, goods in record numbers in the 1950s. This caused a massive flow of money out of Canada. The value of the Canadian dollar dropped drastically, bottoming out in the late 1970s. This environment made it attractive to foreign investors. Former Liberal Prime Minister Trudeau became concerned that Canada was allowing too much foreign investment and selling out our natural resources to the U.S. He believed that with the presence of so many American multinationals in Canada, our nation had created a branch-plant economy.

Most of the Trudeau administration was characterized by protectionist policies and agencies such as the foreign investment regulator FIRA (Foreign Investment Review Agency), the National Energy policy, and Petro Canada. But by the 1980s, Canada still faced grave economic problems.



Trudeau established a Royal Commission on the economy. The commission did not release its report until 1985. By then, the conservative government of Mulroney had attained power. The cornerstone of the report was the recommendation of the free trade agreement with the U.S.A. Since this was consistent with Mulroney's conservative economic philosophy – a policy shared by U.S. President Reagan and British Prime Minister Thatcher – the Canadian government aggressively pursued such an agreement.

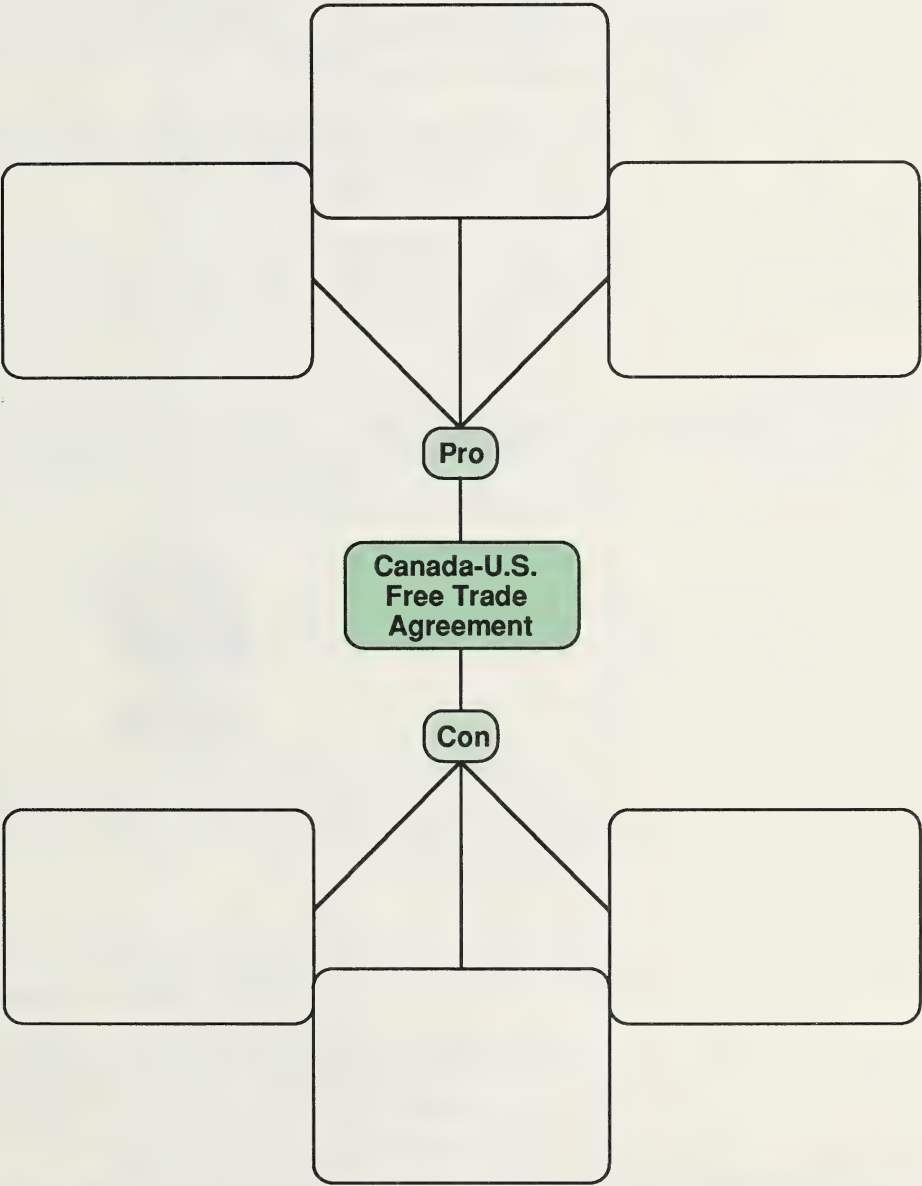
After several years of negotiation and a bitter election battle in Canada, the Free Trade Agreement came into effect on January 1, 1989.

The Mulroney government's pursuit of a free trade agreement created a national debate. Two general arguments emerged:

Arguments for the Free Trade Agreement	Arguments Against the Free Trade Agreement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If trade is unrestricted, more Canadian goods will be bought and sold. • Consumers will pay lower prices because of competition and lower tariffs. • Tariffs bred more protectionism. • The U.S. and Canada share a resource-rich continent and have become each other's biggest trading partners. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any Canadian company may be threatened by better or cheaper imports. • Canadian companies may face more competition resulting in more bankruptcies and more unemployment. • If a country imports too much, it suffer a negative balance of payments (it buys more than it sells). • This will lead to greater economic dependency on the U.S.A. and exploitation of Canadian resources.



1. Complete the concept map that follows, labelling three arguments **for** the Free Trade Agreement on the top of the map, and three arguments **against** it on the bottom.



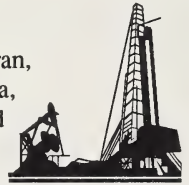
Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 5.

Activity 6: OPEC

After many years of multinational presence in their countries, many Third World governments are seeking ways to gain economic independence and improve trade relations with the world. The **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** was formed to improve the national economic interests of each member through economic cooperation.

The world has long known the importance of petroleum in supplying our energy needs. As coal was gradually replaced by oil as the primary industrial fuel, petroleum became a precious commodity.

In 1960, the main oil-exporting countries – Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, Indonesia, Nigeria, Ecuador, Colombia, and Algeria – formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).



Cartel: an agreement concerning pricing and production among major producing countries of a particular commodity

OPEC is a **cartel**. The OPEC nations found that through economic cooperation they could gain enormous advantage. They found that they could control the world price of oil by withholding supply and selling to the highest bidder. OPEC countries have accumulated billion of dollars from the sale of their oil, which has greatly helped the economies of these Third World countries.



This shows a basic paradox of regional or group economic cooperation. If you give members of your group preferential trade, and share profits at the expense of nonmembers, conflict can result. This can be true of the EEC and FTA (Free Trade Agreement) as well.

In 1973 the Arab OPEC countries stopped selling oil to some countries that were supporting Israel in the Yom Kippur War against the Arabs. This seriously affected the U.S.A., West Germany, and the Netherlands, where oil became scarce.

Because people are willing to pay high prices for oil, OPEC greatly increased prices in 1973 and 1979. OPEC has changed the shape of international economics and politics. For instance, the U.S.A. now worries that the USSR will gain control of world oil supplies and use this against the West.

For their part, the member nations of OPEC have redefined international economic relations. As **nonaligned nations**, they have carved out their own niche in global economic and political relations.

Nonaligned nations: countries not allied with either the communist or non-communist blocs



Now answer the questions that follow.

1. What is a cartel?

2. Why can OPEC be considered a cartel?

3. What are the positive consequences of the formation of OPEC?

4. What are the negative consequences?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 6.

Activity 7: Other Regional Organizations of Cooperation – the OAU

OAU (Organization of African Unity): an organization of African nations that attempts to achieve unity and cooperation throughout the continent

Colonies: territories that are dominated politically and economically by foreign powers

Pan-African: promoting the interests of all peoples in Africa

Out of the chaos of recent history, newly emerging African nations have struggled to find a way of achieving and continuing independence. They recognize that the most effective means towards this goal is economic development, which has been a primary aim of the **Organization of African Unity**.

History has seen the continent of Africa carved up by colonial empires such as those of Britain, France, and Germany. By the end of World War II, a strong independence movement had developed in most African **colonies**. Africans came to resent the exploiting of their countries and the way they themselves were treated like second-class citizens. Several **Pan-African** meetings took place to map routes toward self-determination.

The damage inflicted by World War II caused many Europeans to question the wisdom of maintaining colonial empires. Most European nations were not anxious to fight costly wars of independence in faraway places.

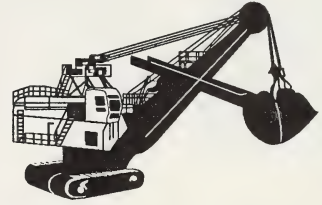
Most European governments, however, initially resisted independence efforts in Africa. Some measures of self-government were introduced, but full self-determination was not granted. Some African leaders resorted to violence, but most nations achieved independence through peaceful means.

By 1950 there were four independent nations in Africa: Liberia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and South Africa. By 1968 there were thirty-eight new nations, and by 1982 the number had risen to fifty.

Although the colonial system in Africa left some positive results, such as the existence of roads, schools, railways, and harbours, serious problems remained behind as well. Since colonial administration had not allowed for native leaders, new African states often lacked skilled statesmen to guide them on their new path. When colonial boundaries were drawn, little regard was given to geography, religion, language, or tribal origin. Thus, new African nations had no traditions of unity. Religious, linguistic, and cultural rivalries inhibited efforts to achieve unity.

As usual, the superpowers have tried strongly to influence the ideologies of the burgeoning independence movements. The U.S.A. wanted the colonies to become capitalist democracies, while the USSR encouraged socialism in Africa. Both wanted access to the vast natural resources of Africa.

Most African leaders see **economic development** as the key to the unified stability of their nations. Along with many new nations in Asia, they stress the importance of improving agriculture and industry.



Many have begun programs to modernize traditional and subsistence forms of farming. They have also attempted to shift the emphasis from cash-crop production to food-crop production to promote self-sufficiency. Crises such as drought and famine remain a frustrating obstacle to African progress. Many nations continue to rely on foreign-aid programs.

Capital, raw materials and skilled labour are needed for industrial development. European colonizers exploited resources and labour, and multinationals have continued this tradition. Many African nations have tried to hold back this process by retaining national ownership of key industries by means of aid packages from various wealthy countries.

Independent African leaders have worked to establish a sense of continental African unity. They see an African cooperative spirit as essential to progress and development of their nations and continent. These independent African nations have created a large bloc of nations that have become known as a “nonaligned.” This means they were not aligned with either superpower. Their effort in the United Nations has been very dramatic since the General Assembly is based on one vote per country. Several key votes have been lost by the superpower in the General Assembly of the UN.

In 1963, thirty African nations met to promote this Pan-African spirit. In the capital of Ethiopia they signed a charter establishing the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)**.

Goals of the OAU:

- to promote African unity
- to encourage economic cooperation
- to settle issues that arise among members
- to support the struggle for independence of all black Africans

The OAU has met with some successes, but has been plagued with setbacks. Most Africans are very protective of their independence. Therefore, they do not tolerate any outside interference – even from the OAU.



Now answer the following:

1. Why did Africans want independence from the colonial system?

2. What is a "Pan-African" movement?

3. How did the end of World War II contribute to independence movements in Africa?

4. How did the superpowers try to influence the African independence movements and nations?

5. What was the positive legacy of the colonial system in Africa?

6. What were the negative results?

7. What do African leaders believe to be essential to continued progress?

8. Answer the following four of the five W's of the OAU:

a. **What** is it?

b. **When** was it founded?

c. **Where** was it organized?

d. **Why** was it created?

9. What are the goals of the OAU?

10. Why has the OAU not been as successful as was envisioned?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 7.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

This activity has been designed as a review of some of the important organizations discussed in Section 3 – organizations that have attempted to promote economic cooperation among nations.

1. Complete the following chart by explaining how each of the organizations listed has promoted economic cooperation, but may also cause conflict.



	Cooperation	Conflict
United Nations	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
EEC	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
Multinationals	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
FTA	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
OPEC	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>
OAU	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>	<div></div> <div></div> <div></div>

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Extra Help.



Enrichment

1. Section 3 has very briefly discussed several economic organizations. Due to the volume of material covered in Social Studies 30, it has been impossible to do little more than touch upon each organization.

If you wish to learn more about any one of these groups – how it operates, what it has accomplished – pick that one and research it in your local library (your librarian will help). Then write up your findings in a short paper.

Two organizations about which you will find a great deal written in recent years are OPEC and the EEC.

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page, leaving small margins at the top and bottom. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no text or other markings on the paper.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Enrichment.

Conclusion

From your study of Section 3, you can draw two general conclusions:

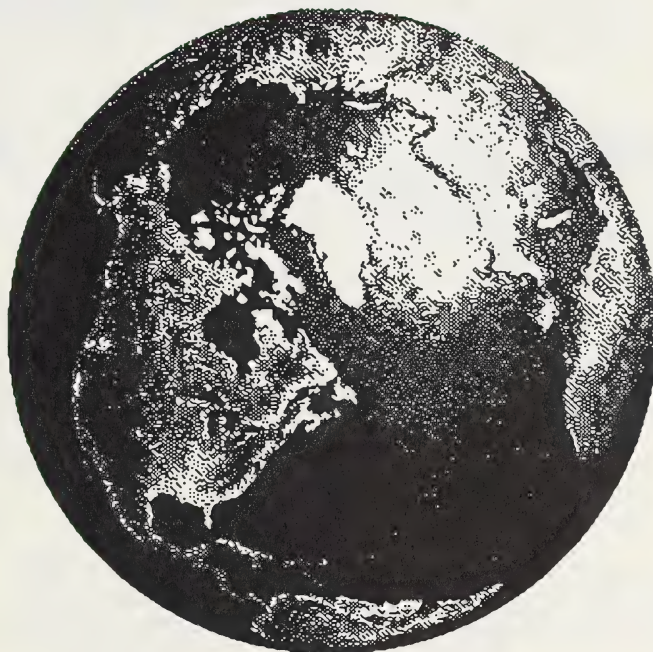
- Global interactions are becoming increasingly influenced by economic developments.
- Large scale cooperation and understanding are being attempted in a number of regions.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

There is no assignment for this section.

Global Responsibility and Cooperation



The possibility of a nuclear war horrifies us all. Yet the superpowers lead many other countries in a continuous arms race. Many people cannot understand why the superpowers find it necessary to have the capability to destroy the entire world twenty times over. The insanity of the arms race motivates many people to join disarmament movements, yet many other people believe that we in the West must maintain equality in destructive potential for our own safety as a deterrent to the Soviets.

Each day we live with the possibility of nuclear holocaust. Each day we hear more about environmental problems resulting from the depletion of the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect, the destruction of the rain forests, pollution, and acid rain.

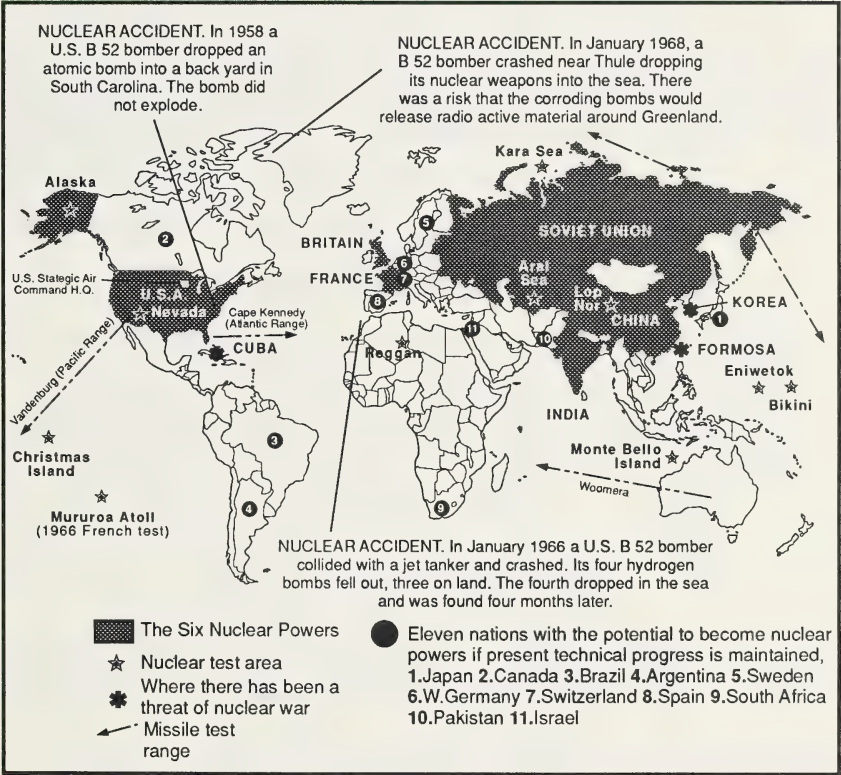
Atempts have been made to create a more cooperative world – to encourage global responsibility for improving the future for the generations to come.

Upon finishing this section you should be able to

- apply the concept of cooperation to important terms such as disarmament, détente, justice, humanitarianism and environmental responsibility
- discuss important international developments in bringing about cooperative agreements in such areas as the arms race, the environment, and human rights

Activity 1: Disarmament and Arms Control

A World in Danger



Use the preceding map to answer these questions.

1. Name the six nuclear powers.



2. Give the names of four nuclear test sites.

3. Where has there been a threat of nuclear war?

4. Briefly describe the three nuclear accidents given on the map.

5. What conclusion can you draw from this map?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

Cold War: the period of tense relations between the Soviet and American blocs following World War II
A prolonged contest for national advantage conducted by diplomatic, economic, and psychological, rather than military, means.

In this century, the world has seen a great deal of conflict – often leading to war. You have seen in this module that since the superpowers have emerged, and with them the awesome destructive capability of nuclear weapons, the world has not experienced a global war. Instead, the superpowers have waged a **Cold War** of threats, or have used **proxy wars** – indirect confrontations – to avoid a nuclear war.

You also saw in Module 6 that the United Nations was organized to work toward international peace and cooperation. Certainly the reason for the search for peace and cooperation comes from our desire for **global security** in the face of war and possible annihilation.

One writer described security like this:



Security is not achieved by building a fortress in a fearful world. Rather, it comes as a consequence of peace with justice and depends upon much more than military might. Security depends on the health of the environment, the welfare of individual citizens, a sustainable economy and responsive

national institutions. When these are threatened, security is diminished and nations look to weapons for their safety. In the end, these bristling arsenals have only made us more insecure. We need a new approach to international security.¹

Ultimately, it seems apparent that the world can choose between the confrontation of the Cold War or the cooperation of nuclear disarmament.

6. How has our desire for global security created the movement toward disarmament?

¹ Reprinted with permission from *Project Ploughshares*.

7. Contrast the term “Cold War” with “disarmament.”

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

Background

The horror of Hiroshima is still fresh in the minds of many people. Unleashing nuclear weapons on Japan at the end of World War II drove the wedge further between the USSR and U.S.A. The Cold War had begun.

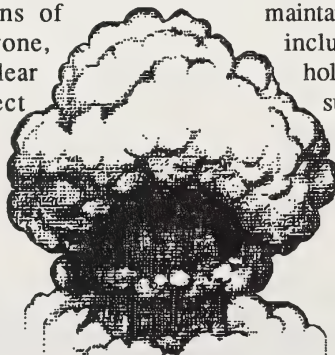
The superpowers found themselves in the following situations:

- a war of words and threats
- an **arms race** of incredible proportions – both **nuclear** and **conventional** arms
- regional, **proxy wars** – **limited wars** in which they attempted to establish a government of their ideology or prevent their enemy from doing the same
- competition for natural resources in key areas like the Middle East

Tensions between the superpowers grew as a result of these characteristics of the Cold War. Superpower leaders did, however, understand the destructive potential of nuclear weapons and knew that a **total nuclear war** would probably destroy the world. They came to the conclusion that Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) was really the only means of maintaining peace. The mutual assurance that everyone, including the superpowers, would lose in a nuclear holocaust was a powerful deterrent to direct superpower confrontation.

Total nuclear war: a war in which the nuclear powers would unleash all their nuclear weapons against their enemies

This is in contrast to the theory of limited nuclear war, which is the strategy that a small number of nuclear weapons can be used in a conflict in order to attain specific objectives.



Global security: confidence among all nations that they will not be attacked – that the world as we know it will survive

The arms race grew out of this belief in mutual deterrence to maintain the stability necessary to avoid another world war. Neither superpower wanted the other to gain an advantage. If one superpower perceived that the other was increasing its arsenal or improving technology, catching up was imperative. To maintain **global security** and deter nuclear war, the superpowers have felt that they must maintain the balance of power. Underlying this was the assumption that the other superpower was always trying to gain the advantage. Therefore, constant vigilance, improvement, and deployment was essential.

Mutual deterrence, then, has been the reason why neither superpower has used nuclear weapons since 1945. But there is a thin line between war and peace, and many experts point to a number of incidents where superpower leaders contemplated using the bomb. They also stress that there have been near mistakes when nuclear weapons have almost been launched. Such an accident would probably cause an automatic retaliation, resulting in a war. The abstract nature of the concept of mutual deterrence, then, has not provided an optimum (best possible), concrete basis for lasting peace and cooperation.

Many world leaders, experts, and people involved in peace movements work toward a more stable, less tenuous mechanism to maintain the balance of power, create lasting peace, and avoid nuclear war. By 1955, Soviet leader Krushchev began his policy of **peaceful coexistence**, when he spoke of the need for the U.S.A. and USSR to “exist together on the one planet.” The Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence along with some American actions, showed signs that the superpowers were willing to work toward a more common understanding.

The superpowers would still find themselves in conflicts all over the world, but they avoided direct confrontation, which would escalate into a nuclear war. By 1955 the first postwar summit between the superpowers took place. In 1959, Khrushchev visited the U.S.A.

The Cuban Missile Crisis brought the world near the abyss of nuclear war. President Kennedy used the dangerous policy of **brinkmanship** to force the Soviets to withdraw their nuclear weapons from Cuba. This frightening event began a period of “thawing” of the Cold War. A “hotline” was set up between the U.S.A. and USSR – a direct telephone link between the two superpower leaders to be used to communicate in times of crisis.



Brinkmanship: a U.S. foreign policy developed during the Eisenhower administration involving the threat of nuclear strike to force an opponent to backdown



8. Describe the characteristics of the Cold War in which the superpowers became involved.

9. What effect did MAD have on the Cold War?

10. a. Define the word “deterrent.”

- b. What is “mutual deterrence” as it applies to the nuclear arms race and superpower relations?

11. What is meant by the term “arms race”?

12. Define the term “balance of power” in the context of the nuclear arms race.

13. How did the superpowers come to believe that the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, was important in maintaining the balance of power?

14. What is meant by “peaceful coexistence”?

15. How did the policy of brinkmanship change the way the superpowers confronted each other?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, then, the superpowers made some effort to loosen the tensions of the Cold War.

As the 1960s unfolded, the term “peaceful coexistence” eventually was replaced with the term *détente*. *Détente* came to mean the reduction of military and political tension through economic and social cooperation. As part of this process, the superpowers entered into negotiations to control the production and proliferation of nuclear arms.

Although the terms are often used interchangeably, it is important to distinguish between **arms control** and **disarmament**.

Disarmament: the reduction or elimination by a nation of its weapons systems

Arms control: efforts to limit the size, power, and spread of weapons systems, especially nuclear arms

Verification: the process of determining, through means of inspection or intelligence gathering, whether an opponent is complying with arms control agreements

- **Disarmament** means the reduction or elimination by a nation of its weapons systems. Unlike arms control, the concept of disarmament is an ideal based on the view that weapons cause wars, and that **the elimination of weapons will in itself remove the main causes of conflict**. Many people also believe that by disarming, individual nations will no longer perceive arms as necessary for their security. Whereas arms control is seen as a means of limiting and controlling existing weapons systems in order to bring about future improvement, disarmament is usually seen as an end in itself. In other words, the act of disarmament is seen as creating a new situation in which the potential for international conflict is eliminated.
- **Arms control** means the process by which the development, production, and deployment of weapons systems and military forces are kept within defined limits according to agreements between states. Such agreements usually include arrangements for **verification**—continuing consultation and measures to ensure that no state’s security is reduced. The concept of arms control is not based on the view that weapons and military forces in themselves are a cause of war and does not assume that arms control agreements will, in themselves, eliminate the potential for conflict.

Arms control improves security by placing controls and limits on the process of deterrence, thus increasing the chances of agreements in other areas, which will in turn reduce the risk of international conflict. Arms control seeks to steer the military system into safer and less expensive channels—not to abolish it—accepting that states will continue to give priority to their own security and to base it on efforts to maintain their own self-defence within a balance of power situation.

Part of an arms control program may be a **freeze**—an agreement to cease production and deployment of specified weapons.¹

¹ Adapted with permission from *Project Ploughshares*.

The superpowers have signed a number of arms-control agreements, some of which are **multilateral**, in that they involve a large number of countries. Some are **bilateral** between the superpowers themselves. Here is a list:

- **Partial Test Ban Treaty** – 1963: signed by the U.S.A., USSR, and Britain
 - Parties agreed to stop testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.
 - Parties agreed to test only underground.
 - This greatly reduces radioactive fallout.
 - This treaty was not signed by China or France; both continue to test in the atmosphere.
- **Outer Space Treaty** – 1967: signed by over sixty countries
 - This treaty banned sending nuclear weapons into space.
 - Soviets have argued that Reagan's SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) program violates this treaty.
- **Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty** – 1968: signed by over ninety countries
 - All pledged to reduce the spread of nuclear weapons by refusing to exchange nuclear technology.
 - This plan was designed to reduce the danger of a nuclear war. The danger would grow if the number of nuclear weapons was allowed to increase.
 - Many countries who were about to become members of the "Nuclear Club" refused to sign.
 - The U.S.A., USSR, and France continue to sell nuclear materials that can be used to make weapons to countries like Brazil, Argentina, and South Africa.
- **Seabed Treaty** – 1971: signed by forty countries
 - Signatories agreed not to place nuclear weapons on the seabed beyond a country's twenty-kilometre limit.
- **Antiballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty)** – 1972: signed by U.S.A. and USSR
 - This treaty allowed each superpower to deploy two weapons systems designed to defend against attacking nuclear missiles.
 - The ABM Protocol, which followed in 1974, reduced the number of permitted systems to one.
 - Both countries are also committed to move their ABM systems if sufficient notice is given.
- **SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks)** – 1972:
 - Superpowers had negotiated how to control the arms race in long-range nuclear missiles.
 - The agreement led to a limit on the number of ICBMs, SLBMs, and ABMs kept by each side.
 - The treaty was intended to help stop or slow the nuclear arms race.

SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative): a program announced by President Reagan in 1985 to provide active defence against nuclear attack by destroying missiles from satellites in space – dubbed "Star Wars" by the press

ABM (Antiballistic Missile System): a system of radar and defensive missiles that detects and destroys incoming offensive weapons – nuclear and nonnuclear

ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile): a ballistic missile with a range of 6400 km or more. Modern ICBMs have a range of up to 14 500 km and need about thirty minutes to reach their targets.

SLBM (submarine-launched ballistic missile): a nuclear missile that can be launched at sea

SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks): a long series of negotiations (1969-1979) between the superpowers to limit the arms buildup

SALT I was signed in 1977 and provided a plan for a five-year period of limited nuclear weapons production and development; SALT II was accepted by the USSR but stalled by the U.S. Senate.

• **SALT II:**

- This treaty was to extend strategic arms control between the superpowers.
- The treaty was never ratified. The U.S.A. would not sign, but it still abides by the weapons limitations of the treaty.

• **INF Talks (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) – 1981:**

- These talks were begun in Geneva to limit the number and type of missiles in Europe.
- For some years now Europeans have been concerned that their continent would become the major theatre of conflict in a nuclear war.
- The talks were an attempt to stem the arms race in Europe and Asia.
- The talks broke down in 1983 when the USSR withdrew to protest NATO's deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles.

• **START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) Talks – 1982:**

- These talks were begun in Geneva to reduce the number of long-range nuclear weapons held by the superpowers.
- They were a continuation of the SALT talks.

• **Geneva Arms Talks on all categories of ballistic missiles and on the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative – 1985:**

- The aim was to achieve reduction in all categories of nuclear weapons.

With further easing of tensions between the superpowers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, dialogue and arms reduction agreements have been ongoing.

Now do the following:

16. Briefly distinguish between the terms “disarmament” and “arms control.”



Cruise missile: a small, pilotless, jet aircraft that can fly at extremely low altitudes to avoid radar detection

It can deliver a nuclear weapon with great accuracy, and can be launched from airplanes, trucks, ships, or submarines.

Pershing missile: a type of U.S. ballistic missile

It can be a short- or medium-range missile.

17. Define the following terms:

a. **ABM:**

b. **ICBM:**

c. **SLBM:**

d. **Cruise missile:**

18. Complete the chart that follows on arms control treaties throughout the last three decades. List the multilateral (involving or affecting many parties) agreements first, followed by the bilateral (affecting equally two sides) agreements.

	Name and Year of Agreement	Main Provisions	Intended Effects	Actual Outcomes
Multilateral Agreements				
Bilateral Agreements				

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

Activity 2: Other Areas of Progress Toward Détente

Summit meeting: conference of highest-level officials of a country or countries

Increased cooperation between the superpowers led to several **summit meetings** between the two countries' leaders to discuss a variety of issues.

Here is a list of other examples of the progress that has been made on the road to détente:

- During several crises, such as the Yom Kippur War of 1973, the superpowers communicated with each other to avoid a direct confrontation.
- Trade agreements have been reached, e.g., the sale of western wheat and technology to the USSR.
- Some cooperation has been achieved in scientific areas. In 1975, a Soviet Soyuz spacecraft linked with an American Apollo spacecraft. The crews shook hands in a gesture of cooperation.



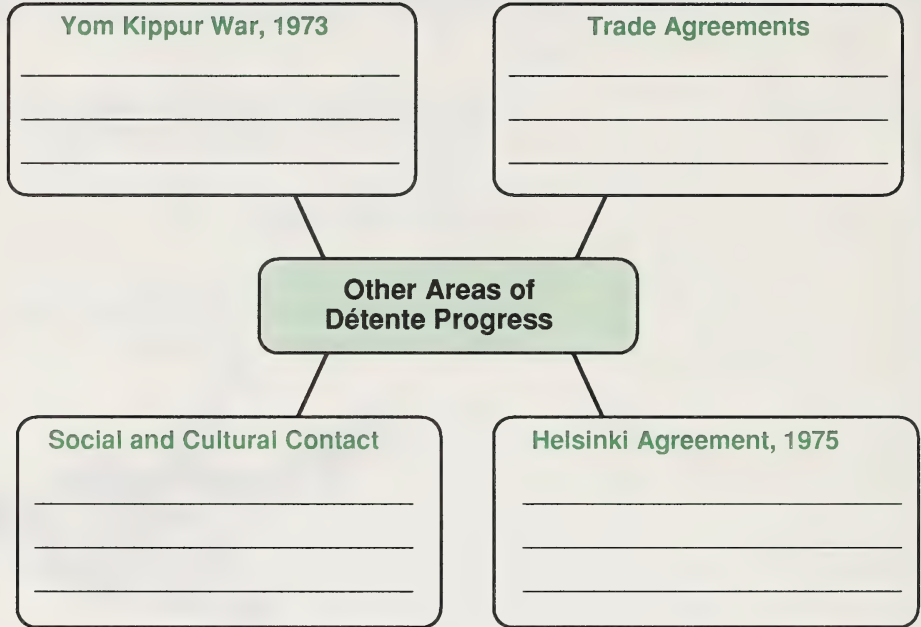
- Social and cultural contacts have been made in sports (such as the Canada Cup hockey series), music, ballet, and theatre; as well, tourism to the USSR and eastern Europe has increased.



- In the Helsinki Agreement of 1975, the U.S.A. and the USSR, along with thirty-three other nations, signed an agreement that recognized Europe's postwar boundaries and stressed the importance of more East-West cooperation.



1. Complete the concept map that follows summarizing other areas of progress toward détente.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

Activity 3: Disintegration of Détente

During many arms-control negotiations, the superpowers were mutually suspicious. Many Americans were especially critical of the SALT talks. Such people claimed that American negotiators gave up too much – that the USSR gained an edge from the SALT treaty. Each side complained that it is difficult, if not impossible, to verify whether arms control, and especially reduction, is actually occurring.

In 1979, when the USSR invaded Afghanistan, détente was further damaged. The U.S.A. boycotted the Moscow Olympic games and cut sales of grain and technology to the East. The Afghanistan invasion seriously strained superpower relations and increased tension. The Carter administration was also very critical of human rights violations in the USSR, which drove the wedge between the East and West even further.

President Reagan began a rearmament program to balance the superiority that Americans perceived the Soviets as having gained over the previous three decades. The USSR walked out of the INF talks after more nuclear weapons were deployed in western Europe. It appeared that we may have been heading toward a new Cold War.

The emergence of the latest Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, has brought an important change in this climate. His policy of *glasnost*, or “openness,” has encouraged more East/West cooperation. Near the end of the Reagan administration, the two superpower leaders warmed to each other. They met in a series of arms control summits; Gorbachev visited the U.S.A. and Reagan went to the USSR. Both superpowers have shown genuine interest in controlling the arms race. The world was again encouraged to see the possibility of détente.

Read the article entitled “The Thaw.” The reading discusses how former President Reagan’s Star Wars plan, or Strategic Defense Initiative, “threatened to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race.” It shows this through a chronological description of superpower summits between Gorbachev and Reagan. Using the reading, do the exercise that comes after it.



The Thaw

When U.S. President Ronald Reagan declared the Soviet Union an “evil empire” in 1983, his country was in the middle of the largest peacetime military build-up in history. In Reagan’s two terms as president, the U.S. spent \$2.4 trillion on its military.

The President’s concern for national security was expressed dramatically in his March 1983 Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars) speech. Reagan proposed building a space-based missile defence shield over the U.S. that would make offensive nuclear weapons obsolete. The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) threatened to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race. To compete, meant that vast amounts of money and manpower would have to be put into the Soviet military sector.

SDI runs against Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev’s primary objective of modernizing the Soviet economy. His main interest is *perestroika* (restructuring the economy). To carry out the changes, Gorbachev must reduce international tensions and minimize the possibility of a superpower confrontation that could lead to nuclear war. If the threat to the Soviet Union is reduced, he can begin solving domestic problems by cutting Soviet military forces and transferring the resources to civilian uses.

To achieve these aims, Gorbachev made improving Soviet-American relations a priority. His most important effort has been on superpower arms control. Eight months after becoming leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev met President Reagan for the first of four summit meetings.

At the November 1985 Geneva Summit, Gorbachev hoped to avoid a costly new arms race by persuading

Reagan not to proceed with SDI. Gorbachev offered nuclear arms negotiations in exchange for a U.S. retreat on SDI. In contrast, Reagan linked arms control to progress on other issues in the superpower relationship. He stressed concerns for human rights in the Soviet Union; he talked about regional conflicts where Soviet involvement was seen as a threat to world peace (Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Nicaragua).

Gorbachev did signal that he was looking for a way to get Soviet troops out of Afghanistan. The leaders agreed to speed up arms talks already underway to cut offensive nuclear weapons. But it was not clear whether progress in

The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) threatened to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race

strategic arms negotiations depended on getting limitations on SDI. Both sides had different views.

The summit ended with few areas of agreement. The most encouraging result was their agreement to hold summit meetings in 1986 and 1987.

In January 1986, Gorbachev seized the initiative by making a stunning arms control proposal. He suggested a 50% reduction on Soviet and American strategic nuclear weapons by 1990, and a ban on SDI testing by the U.S. for up to eight years.

At the same time, all Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles in Europe would be eliminated. After 1990, more intermediate missiles would be reduced globally and tactical nuclear

weapons eliminated. The final phase would begin in 1995 and complete the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

At the October 1986 summit meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, Gorbachev proposed eliminating all Soviet and American nuclear forces if the U.S. accepted limits on SDI. Reagan would not accept limits on SDI and rejected the Soviet offer. His refusal to make concessions on SDI meant the possibility of achieving a deal to eliminate all nuclear arms was lost. Reaching separate agreements on different classes of weapons began to emerge as a realistic alternative.

The main issue dividing the superpowers at Reykjavik was Reagan's unshakeable commitment to SDI. He wouldn't accept limits on SDI's development, testing in space, or eventual deployment in space. On other arms control issues, Reagan and Gorbachev agreed to cut 50% of all strategic missiles in five years, and totally abolish them in 10 years. They also agreed that all intermediate-range missiles (Intermediate Nuclear Forces or INF) should be removed from Europe and those outside Europe negotiated. Soviet officials went so far as to hint an Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) deal might be possible without any U.S. limits on SDI.

In March 1987, Gorbachev announced he was prepared to conclude a separate INF agreement without delay. To get a deal, Gorbachev dropped Soviet demands that British and French nuclear forces be included in an INF agreement. He agreed to the U.S. "zero-option" demand – no intermediate missiles in Europe – even though this meant larger Soviet reductions than U.S. reductions. When pressed to include shorter-range Soviet nuclear weapons which had no U.S. equivalent, Gorbachev agreed.

In all previous deals between the superpowers there had been one sticking point – verification. How can you be sure that the other side has destroyed

the weapons it has promised to destroy? The Soviet Union had always refused to allow anyone to inspect its military installations to prove that the terms of an agreement had been met. Now, Mr. Gorbachev was willing to accept on-site verification.

The third summit was held in Washington D.C. in December 1987. The centrepiece of this meeting was the signing of the INF Treaty, the first superpower agreement to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. The INF Treaty provides for dismantling all Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range missiles. It sets up the most extensive weapons inspection system ever agreed to by the superpowers. Under the treaty, the U.S. will destroy 689 intermediate-range missiles with 282 launchers; the USSR will scrap 826 missiles with 608 launchers. The shorter-range missile reduction is 926 for the Soviets and 170 for the Americans.

The INF Treaty has improved the tone of the Soviet-American relationship. But the cuts are small when set against the nuclear stockpiles of the superpowers. The Treaty deals with less than 5% of the 63,000 nuclear weapons in existence, 1,000 of which could trigger a nuclear winter.

Because INF accounted for such a small proportion of superpower nuclear arms, a major effort was made at the Washington Summit to make progress on the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). START had been going on while the INF negotiations were taking place.

START is trying to get agreement to reduce the strategic weapons most likely to be used by the superpowers in an all-out nuclear war. The main strategic weapons are Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs), and long-range bombers. These are the weapons either superpower could use in a sudden attack on the other side.

The START agreement basically was written prior to the Washington Summit. But there were important disagreements. SDI remained a central issue. Reagan insisted the U.S. could research and develop SDI as it chose. Gorbachev said if SDI was developed and tested outside the laboratory, the Soviet Union would not negotiate strategic missile reductions.

A MAN CALLED JANE

In 1897, Fred T. Jane published a book entitled *All the World's Fighting Ships*. The book became a best-seller and launched Jane's Publishing Company in England. *Jane's Defence Weekly*, a magazine that is avidly read in Moscow, Washington, and elsewhere, carries all the latest details on the world's weapons. The company also produces annuals, many of more than 1,000 pages, on various branches of the military -- *Jane's All the World's Aircraft*, *Jane's Fighting Ships*, *Jane's Armour and Artillery*. These publications are regarded as the authority on many military topics. It's been said that without them there could be no serious arms reduction talks.

Unable to agree, the two leaders handed the strategic nuclear weapons issue back to their arms control negotiators. Working within the 50% reduction outlined at Reykjavik, the leaders told their negotiators to try to complete the treaty before June 1988.

Five months later, Gorbachev hosted Reagan in Moscow for their fourth summit meeting. The START agreement was not ready for signing in Moscow and little progress was made to finalize it. Serious differences remained on important issues. Technical issues (monitoring mobile, land-based missiles, how to count the number of air-launched cruise missiles, and whether to include sea-launched cruise missiles) proved to be stumbling blocks.

Perhaps of most importance, Gorbachev again insisted on limitations on SDI, and Reagan again refused. In the style of the 1985 Geneva meeting, Reagan used his final summit to promote American views on human rights and religious freedom in the Soviet Union. No major agreements were reached in Moscow. The best the superpowers could do was sign minor agreements on prior notification of ballistic missile tests, fishing rights, and student exchanges.

Even without a START agreement, the INF Treaty created pressures for more arms agreements. Without INF in Europe, NATO and the Warsaw Pact realize conventional arms reductions might be needed. The Warsaw Pact had a large conventional arms advantage. If this advantage remained, NATO would build up its battlefield nuclear weapons and conventional forces to regain the security lost when INF were eliminated in Europe.

In his December 1988 speech to the United Nations, Gorbachev set the stage for further conventional and nuclear arms talks. He announced the Soviet Union over a two-year period would withdraw half of its 10,000 tanks in Eastern Europe, and pull back 240,000 soldiers from the Soviet Union's European frontier. These cuts include tactical nuclear weapons and 50,000 troops in Eastern Europe. An additional 260,000 Soviet troops will be cut in the far eastern and southern USSR.

After INF, the more difficult problems of conventional arms reductions and the longstanding problem of strategic weapons remain. These are the vital arms control issues facing U.S. President George Bush in 1989 and beyond.¹

¹ R/L Taylor Consultants Ltd for the article "The Thaw," May 1989. Reprinted by permission of R/L Taylor Consultants Ltd.



1. How much did the Reagan Administration spend on the American military?

2. What is the SDI program?

3. How does SDI run against Gorbachev's plans for the Soviet economy?

4. How did the succession of summit meetings come about?

5. Describe the outcomes of the following summits and bilateral superpower arms-control negotiations by completing the chart that follows.

Date	Outcome
November 1985 (Geneva Summit)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
January 1986	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
October 1986 (Reykjavik, Iceland)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
March 1987	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
December 1987	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
June 1988	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 3.

Study the chart given here and answer the questions that follow it.

Summary Chart: Cold War Events to 1986

Note: There have been top-level meetings since this chart was produced.

Cold War	or	Coexistence
The arms race is continuing with the U.S.A. and the USSR spending ever-increasing amounts on their armed forces and with new technological developments leading to more sophisticated and more threatening weapons systems.		The various arms talks have not broken down totally and both sides talk of the need to reach agreement on reducing the arms race.
The language of the Cold War has returned, with both sides making bitter denunciations of each other.		Leaders on both sides still talk of the need for reconciliation and of the need to reach understanding on mutual problems.
Direct contact between the leaders of the U.S.A. and the USSR has been greatly reduced; there have been no major summit meetings since 1979.		There are still many informal contacts between diplomats. U.S. and Soviet athletes, scientists, journalists and performers meet regularly. The USSR is by no means the closed country it was during the 1950s.
There are major areas of potential conflict, such as the Middle East and Central America, where the superpowers could directly confront each other.		The fear of nuclear war has made the U.S.A. and USSR very cautious about getting involved in any crisis which could lead to direct conflict. Nowhere are U.S. and Soviet troops directly challenging each other.

Since 1986 many changes have occurred in relations between the U.S.A. and USSR. Rapid changes toward democracy and the market economy in the USSR have blurred the strong lines that previously separated the superpowers. Old animosities between the U.S.A. and USSR seem to be giving way to friendship and cooperation. Many analysts say the Cold War is over.

¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the excerpt from *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation*. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.

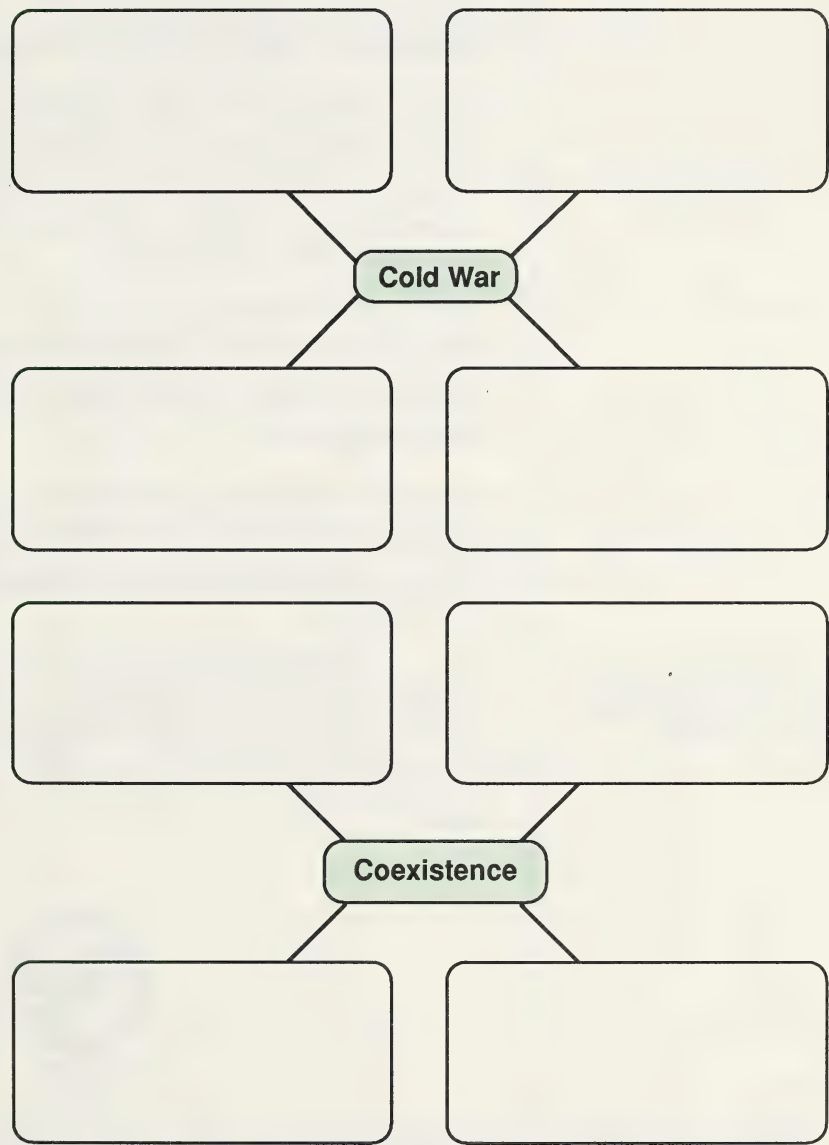


6. What events damaged détente up to 1986?

[illegible]

7. What events created hope in renewed efforts toward détente?

8. Complete the following concept maps showing the opposing views of whether we are experiencing a new Cold War or a period of coexistence.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 3.

It's important to realize that the arms race is no longer contained to the superpowers. In fact, three possible paths to nuclear war can be identified:

Path 1: War Between the Superpowers

This could result from the escalation of a limited war, a proxy war, or a mistake.

Path 2: Nuclear War Through Proliferation

It must be recognized that many First World countries like France, Second World countries like China, and Third World countries like India, have the bomb, so a regional conflict could escalate to nuclear war. There is always the possibility as well that The Third World will eventually tire of the huge gap between rich and poor nations and a resort to nuclear strike.

Path 3: Nuclear Terrorism

Many scientists agree that nuclear weapons technology is not difficult to reproduce on small scale. Many already hypothesize that terrorists have the capability to use nuclear weapons. Such terrorists could hold governments to ransom or intentionally start a total nuclear war.

Small wonder that millions of people the world over are forming and joining disarmament movements. Organizations in the West like Operation Dismantle, Project Ploughshares, and Greenpeace, and similiar movements in the East, are pressuring governments to disarm and educating the public to the dangers of the nuclear arms race.

Many areas of the world have voted to become **nuclear-free zones**. A nuclear-free zone is any well-defined geographical area, regardless of size, in which no nuclear weapons shall be produced, transported, stored, processed, disposed of, or detonated. Neither shall any facility, equipment, supply, or substance for their production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal, or detonation be permitted within its borders.

Nuclear-free zone: a geographic area which the inhabitants designate to remain free of nuclear weapons in every respect



NO NUKES

These nuclear-free zones are an attempt to begin the process of disarmament by exerting grassroots pressure – from the people up to the government.



9. Identify the three possible paths to nuclear war.

10. From identifying these paths, what conclusion can you draw about the arms race and arms control?

11. What are “nuclear-free zones”?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Justice and Human Rights

Global cooperation toward arms control is necessary for the security of the world, but other extremely urgent problems demand solutions as well.

Human rights: fundamental rights, such as freedom of movement and equality of opportunity, which are accepted as belonging to every human being, irrespective of race, colour, religion, or political beliefs

Human rights violations have long plagued our world. In the twentieth century we have seen some unbelievable suffering inflicted by some groups of human beings on others. The Jewish Holocaust is one of the most horrifying of all.



Imprisonment, persecution, and torture continue today. Many countries have been accused of human rights violations. Here are a few examples:

- The USSR's treatment of political dissidents and Jewish "refusniks" has been severely criticized by many nations, including the U.S.A.
- Many Central American governments, such as that in El Salvador, use shadowy death squads, which arrest people in the middle of the night. Most of the time, the people are never seen again. In the early 1980s it is believed that 13 000 people were killed each year in El Salvador by terrorists and by government.



- The former military government in Argentina engaged in the “Dirty War” against Argentines who were labelled subversive. Often these people had little to do with politics. They, too, simply disappeared. Amnesty International estimated that 4 000 political prisoners were held without trial in Argentina. Another 6 000 to 15 000 people simply disappeared. The new democratic government in Argentina has pledged to punish those responsible for these human rights abuses.
- Israel has been chastised by much of the world community for alleged abuses of Palestinian human rights.¹

These and other examples of human rights have caused several groups to fight for the rights of the people. Among them is the United Nations.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

In December 1948 the UN General Assembly adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Some of the most important rights and freedoms listed in the Declaration are these:

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
- Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
- No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
- No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.
- Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights: a UN document, adopted in 1948, which spells out and vows to uphold those rights and freedoms thought to be inherent to every person

¹ Prentice-Hall for the excerpt from *World History: Patterns of Civilization*. Adapted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Every day people somewhere in the world are arrested for holding a belief unpopular with the government, practising a minority religion, or for simply being in the wrong place. The United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is an ideal, but it has no real teeth. Many countries simply disregard it.

Here is a firsthand account of an episode in Brazil in 1974, written by an American missionary, the Reverend Fred Morris.



One of the Lucky Ones

'Then all of a sudden there was this complete silence and everybody left except for one guy. I heard him filling a bucket with water which he poured on my legs and on the floor around me. Then he came back with electrodes, fastening one to the second toe of my right foot and the other fastened with a spring-clip to the nipple of my right breast, cutting right into the flesh. I knew what I was in for because electric shock is their standard torture technique. He went back and sat down at what must have been a table and began asking the same questions—only this time with each question would come an electric shock.

The current would increase in voltage to the point of producing muscular convulsions and I would just be thrown to the floor. Then he would turn the current off, and if I didn't get up rapidly enough, even with my hands handcuffed behind my back on the wet floor with no clothes on, he would turn on the current with light doses, like a cattleprod. As soon as I would get on my feet again, it would be the same thing: more questions, turning on the shock, increasing the voltage until I would be

thrown to the floor again.

I think the whole first session was about an hour and a half, counting the beatings and the shocks. By that time I was really just sort of in limbo, which is I think a physiological and psychological defence mechanism. You get to the point where it is not real. You are really not even there any more; you are just kind of hanging on. It was all sort of a big blur. And when they became aware of that, they stopped, because they don't want you to get to that position; you aren't hurting enough.'

This account of his torture in a Brazilian prison in September 1974 was written by the Reverend Fred Morris, a missionary of the United Methodist Church of the United States. He was arrested because he was suspected of having written an article for an American news magazine which was uncomplimentary towards the Brazilian government.

Fred Morris was lucky. After three weeks of such treatment he was released and deported. Many others have never been seen again.¹

¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the excerpt from *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation*. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.



1. What are human rights?

2. Name two countries that have been accused of human rights abuses.

3. What is the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*?

4. Describe three rights from the abridged list taken from the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 4.

Amnesty International (AI): an international organization that works for the preservation of human rights

Amnesty International

Few organizations have fought so bravely and successfully for human rights as **Amnesty International**. AI, a humanitarian, nonprofit organization, has worked all over the world to achieve its primary objective: ultimately to stop governments from imprisoning and mistreating prisoners of conscience, prisoners of religion, and innocent people. Here are the two principal methods that Amnesty International uses:

- It publicizes specific stories of real people who are experiencing, or have experienced, loss of their human rights at the hand of a repressive regime. No government likes to be known as oppressive and brutal. This kind of publicity gains the release of many political prisoners.
- It targets specific imprisoned individuals monthly so that AI members all over the world can write letters to the government that have arrested these individuals. AI urges its members to write letters on behalf of target prisoners. They instruct members to demand the release of these prisoners politely but firmly. This has been a very successful method.

AI, in constant need of money, receives funding almost exclusively from private donors. Members donate membership fees, and many people simply send in donations. Following the success of *Live Aid*, the worldwide fund-raising concert for Ethiopia, a concert called *Conspiracy of Hope* was televised in many countries, and a subsequent record album was released. The musicians and performers involved in the project donated their time to publicize the need for the world to cooperate to protect human rights in all nations.

In 1977, Amnesty International won the Nobel Peace Prize for its struggle for worldwide human rights. Its work continues.



5. a. Using the dictionary or another resource, define the word “amnesty.”

- b. Why is “Amnesty International” an appropriate name for the organization that bears it?

6. From the partial list of human rights given in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, identify three rights for which Amnesty International works.

7. What is AI's major goal?

8. What two methods does AI use?

9. Why can it be said that Amnesty International is an organization the concerns and aims of which are based on “humanitarian” considerations?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 4.

In 1975, thirty-five communist and noncommunist nations, including the superpowers, met in Helsinki to establish a program to protect human rights, including freedom of speech, religion, and movement all over the world.

A program was established to do the following:

- reunify separated families
- guarantee freedom to marry between citizens of different states
- allow freedom of travel and tourism
- protect the circulation of information
- promote cultural cooperation

The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation is a cornerstone in the continuing process to seek global cooperation in protecting human rights.

***Helsinki Accord:** an agreement reached at a conference held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1975, that marked the height of détente. The conference dealt with issues left unresolved by the Potsdam Conference of 1945. The Soviets gained formal recognition of east European boundaries, while the U.S.A. gained concessions on human rights.*



10. Who signed the **Helsinki Accord**?

11. What was agreed upon at Helsinki regarding human rights?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 4.

In 1975, the UN published the Covenant on Human Rights, which is now legally binding in forty-five countries, including Canada. The Covenant establishes standards for signatories to respect, in such areas as working conditions, trade unions, social security, protection of the family, standards of living and health, freedom of movement, and equality before the law. However, their effectiveness is not yet proven. Many countries have not signed. Abuses of human rights remain in many countries around the world.



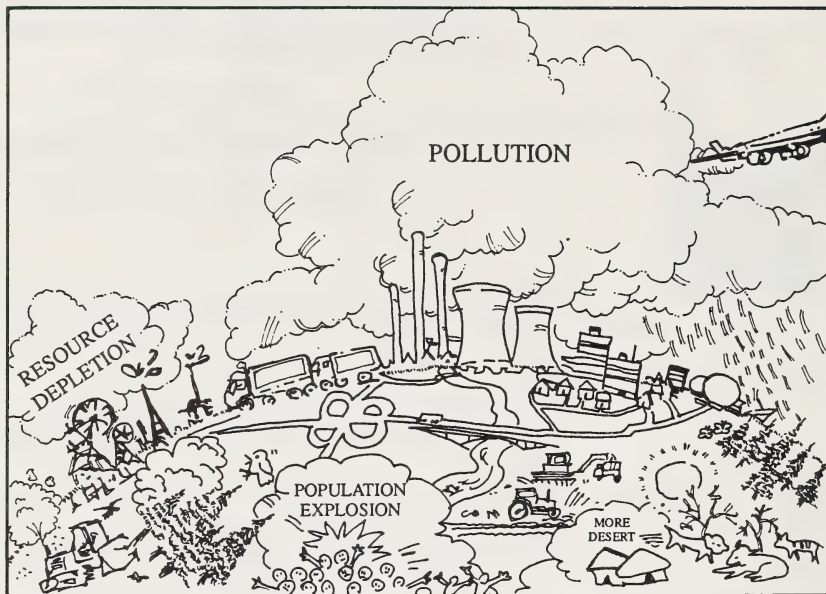
12. What is the United Nations Covenant on Human Rights?

13. In what areas does the Covenant attempt to establish standards?

14. What problems have limited the success of the Covenant?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 4.

Activity 5: The Environment



There is no doubting the urgency to solve menacing global problems such as the nuclear arms race and abuses of human rights. However, a more basic, but no less urgent, threat to global survival comes from problems in our environment.



Ecosystem: the delicately balanced system of life-forms, land, water, and the atmosphere

Ecology: the science that studies how organisms interrelate with their environment

The delicate balance of life-forms, land, water, and the atmosphere is called the **ecosystem**. The study of how factors such as these are interconnected is called **ecology**. Ecologists have warned us for several decades that the world is threatened. The very advances that allowed humanity to progress to its present state have come back to haunt us.

Ecologists, environmentalists, and many other people are calling on all countries of the world to cooperate to save our planet from ecological destruction. These people stress that we must all assume the global responsibility for solving the problems that threaten our very existence.

A Brief Summary of Ecological Problems and Disasters

- **Population explosion:** Medical science and improved health care have drastically reduced death rates. This has created more people who reproduce, thereby increasing the birthrate. If this increased birthrate exists in conjunction with food resources limited by poor food production or distribution, many people, including many children, face malnutrition and starvation.



- **Pollution:** Better improved technology and industrialization have created by-products and chemical wastes that contaminate the earth, water, and air, creating a wide range of diseases that take their toll on people and animals. Acid rain, caused by toxic sulfur dioxide emissions from industrial smoke stacks, is a well-known form of atmosphere pollution.
- **Resource depletion:** The exhaustion of nonrenewable natural resources is a threat that must be confronted. Supplies of petroleum and coal, primary sources of energy, dwindling, and many other mineral resources are quickly being exhausted.

Desertification: the process of fertile land becoming desert-like

- **Urbanization:** More and more people are moving to cities from the country. This creates obvious pollution, sanitation, and health problems. As well, cities often take away fertile land for living space.
- **Destruction of land:** This phenomenon has three main causes:
 - climatic change
 - destruction of habitat (e.g., destruction of tree shelterbelts, which can cause wind erosion)
 - over-farming
- **Desertification:** By the year 2000 it is predicted that there will be 60 percent more desert than at present.
- **Deforestation:** The most serious problem at present is the ongoing destruction of the Amazon rain forests – often called the “earth’s lungs” because of the way they absorb carbon dioxide and emit oxygen. Deforestation can lead to desertification, and it reduces the earth’s supplies of trees, which help make oxygen. The process also destroys important plant and animal species.
- **Ozone layer depletion:** Scientists have found holes in the ozone layer above the Arctic and Antarctic. The ozone layer of the atmosphere filters out harmful ultraviolet rays, and depletion has already contributed to a higher incidence of cancer. The depletion is caused primarily by chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which break down the ozone. CFCs come from such things as styrofoam, solvents, refrigeration and air-conditioning, halon fire extinguisher systems, and aerosol propellants. At present, work is being done on an international level to ban production of CFCs.
- **Nuclear power accidents:** Recent nuclear accidents at Three Mile Island in the U.S.A. and Chernobyl in the Ukraine have produced serious radiation emissions, which in the USSR have caused deaths, radiation sickness, and birth defects.
- **Greenhouse effect:** This is a gradual global warming trend caused by the increased concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere created by the burning of fossil fuels. Effects will include warmer temperatures and more dry weather, which can be devastating to areas of world food production. The polar icecaps may also begin to melt, flooding coastal areas worldwide.
- **Food supply problems:** The world’s food supply is threatened by such factors as the population explosion, pollution, acid rain, the greenhouse effect, land destruction, and many others.

1. Complete the following chart on major ecological problems of our world.

Problem	Cause	Effect
Population Explosion		
Pollution		
Resource Depletion		
Urbanization		
Destruction of Food		
Desertification		
Deforestation		
Ozone Layer Depletion		
Nuclear Power Accidents		
Greenhouse Effect		
Food Supply Problems		

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 5.

Many organizations are now working to create an atmosphere of **environmental responsibility** in an attempt to achieve **international cooperation** in order to solve these threats to the earth’s survival.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

This section has examined a number of concepts that are terribly important to life in our world today. To ensure that you understand them, fill in the blanks that follow.



1. A confrontation in which only a limited number of nuclear weapons were used could be called a _____.
2. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy used the dangerous policy of _____ to force the USSR to back down.
3. When two or more nations compete in building up military superiority, they can be said to be involved in an _____.
4. The belief that the elimination of weapons will in itself remove the main causes of conflict is the basic philosophy behind _____.
5. In 1967 over sixty nations signed the _____ Treaty, banning nuclear weapons in space.
6. The SALT stands for _____.
7. The small, pilotless U.S. jet aircraft, capable of carrying nuclear warheads while flying at low altitudes so as to avoid radar detection is called the _____.
8. An agreement made between two nations is a _____ agreement.
9. The relaxation of tensions between the two superpowers is known as _____.

10. In 1975 the _____ Accord was signed by the superpowers and thirty-three other nations, in Finland.
11. The current Soviet policy of openness is known as _____.
12. Former President Reagan's proposed space-based nuclear missile shield over the U.S. is known as the _____.
13. A geographic area that declares itself to be unwilling to tolerate nuclear weaponry on its territory is called a _____.
14. Rights felt to belong to all people, simply by virtue of their humanity, are called _____.
15. In 1948 the UN General Assembly adopted the _____ in order to protect these basic rights.
16. The organization that works to protect human rights by publicizing abuses of such rights is _____.
17. The process of fertile land becoming desert-like is called _____.
18. The ozone layer has been damaged principally by the production of chemical _____.
19. The greenhouse effect is caused principally by the increased concentration of _____ in the atmosphere.
20. The term "Cold War" is usually contrasted with _____.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Extra Help.



Enrichment

1. These days we are hearing a great deal about the environment. With the thawing in the Cold War, the destruction of our global ecosystem has become, in the minds of many, the chief source of concern for the future of life on earth as we know it.

The media is full of discussions of environmental issues these days. As an enrichment exercise, pick one environmental issue that especially interests you (e.g., acid rain, the greenhouse effect, the destruction of the ozone layer), research it in your local library, and write a short report on what you discover.

[illegible]

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page, leaving small margins at the top and bottom. There is no handwriting or other markings on the page.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Enrichment.

Conclusion

From this section, two major conclusions may be drawn:

- To deal with global problems of enormous magnitude, large-scale cooperation and understanding are being attempted in a number of regions.
- Desire for global peace, respect for human rights, and concern about the environment have emphasized the need for international cooperation and understanding.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

There is no assignment for this section.

MODULE SUMMARY

If you didn't realize it before, the world and the events that shape it are very complex. When we are very young, we often view events, concerns, problems, and crises rather simply—clear solutions seem available based on a good side versus an evil side of the issue. However, growing up brings with it the realization that issues are far more complex than that.

People often find that solutions to problems create their own, new problems. Sometimes the situation looks hopeless. When you look back on the entire topic, from Modules 5 to 8, you might see this century as continual maelstrom – war, deprivation, cruelty, destruction.

But it is important as well to see attempts – failures and successes – that have made the earth a better world.

This module has dealt primarily with world events that occurred between 1963 and the present. The emergence of the superpowers after World War II and how they have influenced global relations after the Cuban Missile Crisis was the focus of the module.

The underlying, pervasive theme has been the threat of nuclear war. One fundamental question has been this:

How has mutual assured destruction and deterrence affected Soviet-American relations?

To investigate this question you studied the postwar superpowers' arms race. You discovered that the acceptance of MAD deterred superpower leaders from risking a direct confrontation that could escalate into a total nuclear war.

Concerned superpower leaders spearheaded the pursuit of *détente*. For a time the U.S.A. and USSR entered a period of peaceful coexistence. Several arms control agreements were signed.

The arms race accelerated when the U.S.A. announced its work toward a technological breakthrough in weaponry called the **Strategic Defense Initiative**. SDI threatened the existing balance of power and theory of mutual deterrence, and further damaged superpower relations. Deployment of the **cruise missile** in Europe further dampened relations. Another fundamental question, then, is this:

How have superpower relations affected the interactions of all nations in the world?

As a result of mutual deterrence, the superpowers became involved in indirect confrontations to serve their economic and ideological interests. These were largely limited wars – limited in size and weaponry and limited to a specific region of the world.

Examples of these conflicts were the **guerrilla war** in Vietnam in Southeast Asia, El Salvador in Central America, Grenada in the Caribbean, and the Arab-Israeli Crisis in the Middle East.

The U.S.A. and USSR both intervened in countries within their respective **spheres of influence**. When some countries attempted to achieve **self-determination** that was detrimental to the interests of a superpower, indirect resistance or, in some cases, direct invasion, resulted. The USSR invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979. The U.S.A. has supported resistance to left-wing movements in Central America for years, and directly invaded Grenada.

Such **expansionist** policies of the superpowers have created many popular movements in a number of countries dedicated to self-determination. A disturbing outgrowth of many of these conflicts is **terrorism**, exemplified best by the actions of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and its agencies.

Many attempts have been made to prevent modern conflict. The United Nations works on a global and regional level to establish peace. Diplomats have worked to solve problems that created confrontations. Conferences in Geneva and Paris to ameliorate the turbulence in Vietnam are examples of these efforts.

Multilateral nuclear arms control treaties such as the Partial Test Ban Treaty and the Nonproliferation Treaty showed that worldwide attempts were being made to stem testing and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Similarly, bilateral treaties like the ABM Treaty, SALT, and INF Talks demonstrated a somewhat consistent superpower concern for nuclear arms control.

Disarmament movements such as Greenpeace, Operation Dismantle, and Project Ploughshares have emerged to pressure governments to limit and dismantle nuclear arms. Nuclear-free zones have been declared all over the world. People are beginning to speak out.

The lessons of the **Cold War** policy of **brinkmanship** during the Cuban Missile Crisis and the realities of the nuclear arms race provided the needed stimulus for many European nations to work toward a United States of Europe. The primary vehicle leaders have used to achieve this goal is the EEC.

However, themes not directly related to the nuclear arms race have also emerged in recent years. Industrialization has created several global trends:

Decolonization: the process of empires divesting themselves of colonies, and the process of colonies achieving independence and self-determination

- **Decolonization** and the emergence of the Third World as a powerful political force has created the beginning of a new **balance of power**. Former colonies have found themselves in the unfortunate position of developing their own leadership and defending their new independence against a sometimes hostile world. Many Third World nations have learned to cooperate to become more assertive. The member nations of the oil **cartel** OPEC have successfully gained control of their petroleum industries from

multinational corporations and the industrialized world. The **OAU** is a regional organization that has shown that Third World nations can cooperate – that they can work toward common African economic and political goals. Countries in the **Pacific Rim** have become formidable world economic leaders. Indeed, you have learned that economic issues have shaped international relations.

- These new economic realities have forced many nations to become less protectionist. Witnessing the success of the EEC and the work of GATT in reducing tariff barriers, the U.S.A. and Canada have signed a **free trade agreement**.
- Environmental problems have grown out of the Industrial Revolution – problems that demand responsibility and cooperation immediately. Improvements in science and technology have extended life expectancies by lowering death rates. Yet the population of the world continues to grow at an alarming rate. There are definite limits to providing food and other necessities to the quickly growing global population.

All kinds of pollution plague the planet. Toxic spills have altered the quality of life from the Love Canal of the U.S.A. to Bhopal, India. Oil spills have destroyed the ecosystems of large areas, one of the most recent being the Exxon tanker spill off the Alaska coast in 1989. Industrial emissions into the atmosphere are responsible for two of the most disturbing environmental problems the world has known: the greenhouse effect and the hole in the ozone layer. The world's rain forests continue to be eliminated at an alarming rate, exacerbating the greenhouse effect further. All of these problems have threatened our basic necessities: food, water, and air. They have indeed challenged the world.

In the last decade we have seen a gradual awareness of this challenge. International conventions continue to probe issues of the environment and several agreements are on the horizon. These movements toward environmental responsibility and global cooperation are essential for the earth to survive.

- People of the world have learned more about a persistent disgrace – the abuse of **human rights**.

What has been done to stop such abuses?

Amnesty International, an international organization dedicated to stopping human abuses, has worked diligently to pressure governments and groups to stop the arbitrary arrest and torture of people. Enlisting the help of people of all nations, AI has met with many successes.

What has been done to protect human rights?

The United Nations works very hard to protect human rights. In 1948, the UN issued the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which detailed the rights with which all human beings are felt to have been born.

The **Helsinki Accord** of 1975 was a multilateral agreement in which thirty-five nations pledged to respect human rights.

While not all countries respect the Helsinki Accord or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community is attempting to cooperate to create a world based on justice and humanitarianism – for everyone.

A global awareness to the world's problems seems to be developing. People and their leaders are gradually realizing that the problems will not go away by themselves. Witness the recent rapprochement of President Gorbachev and former President Reagan, and now President Bush. Yet we are also realizing that a small elite group of experts and leaders will not totally rid our world of these threats. We must all assume responsibility for our world, i.e., we must take global responsibility. The urgent need for a more secure and responsible world community has also emphasized the need for international cooperation and understanding.

Generalizations

Several generalizations can be drawn from our study of superpower and global interactions from 1962 to the present:


- The scale of destruction in modern war has focused attention on principles of justice and human rights.
- A shift in the balance of power results in changed relationships among nations.
- Decolonization and the emergence of new nations have influenced the foreign policies of the superpowers.
- The superpowers have faced pressures of self-determination within their spheres of influence.
- The development of nuclear weapons has been viewed as both a stabilizing and a destabilizing influence in superpower relations.
- Global interactions are becoming increasingly influenced by economic developments.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the final assignment(s) for this module.

Appendix

	Glossary
	Activities
	Extra Help
	Enrichment

Glossary

ABM (Antiballistic Missile System)

- a system of radar and defensive missiles that detects and destroys incoming offensive weapons – nuclear and nonnuclear

Amnesty International (AI)

- an international organization that works for the preservation of human rights

Arms control

- efforts to limit the size, power, and spread of weapons systems, especially nuclear arms

Arms race

- a contest between two or more nations competing with each other for military superiority

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations)

- an organization that promotes free trade among the noncommunist nations of Southeast Asia

Balance of power

- an attempt to achieve parity in military capability

Brinkmanship

- a U.S. foreign policy developed during the Eisenhower administration involving the threat of nuclear strike to force an opponent to back down

Cartel

- an agreement concerning pricing and production among major producing countries of a particular commodity

Civil war

- a war waged by people of the same state on opposing sides

Cold War

- the period of tense relations between the Soviet and American blocs following World War II
A prolonged contest for national advantage conducted by diplomatic, economic, and psychological, rather than military, means.

Colonialism

- the policy of a nation seeking to acquire, extend, or retain overseas dependencies

Colonies

- territories that are dominated politically and economically by foreign powers

Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance)

- the communist equivalent of the Common Market

Containment

- a fundamental security policy of the U.S.A. since the 1940s to apply counterforce to communist expansion in order to prevent more parts of the world from establishing communist governments

Cruise missile

- a small, pilotless jet aircraft that can fly at extremely low altitudes to avoid radar detection
It can deliver a nuclear weapon with great accuracy, and can be launched from airplanes, trucks, ships, or submarines.

Decolonization

- the process of empires divesting themselves of colonies, and the process of colonies achieving independence and self-determination

Desertification

- the process of fertile land becoming desert-like

Destabilization

- a situation in which nations feel less secure due to increased danger of conflict and misunderstanding

Détente

- the relaxation of international tension between the U.S.A. and USSR and their respective allies

Deterrence

- a military doctrine according to which potential enemies are threatened with unacceptable damage through retaliation, thus preventing a possible attack

Disarmament

- the reduction or elimination by a nation of its weapons systems

Domino effect

- a theory used by the U.S.A. in connection with its involvement in Southeast Asia and Central America
The countries of Southeast Asia and Central America were likened to a row of dominoes with South Vietnam (in Southeast Asia) and Cuba (in Central America) being the first in the row. If they fell under communist control, then so eventually would other countries in the region – like a row of dominoes.

Doomsday clock

- a clock that periodically appears on the cover of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, indicating how close the world is to nuclear war
As global tensions increase, the clock's hands move closer to midnight.

Ecology

- the science that studies how organisms interrelate with their environment

Ecosystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• the delicately balanced system of life-forms, land, water, and the atmosphere
ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a European organization set up to pave the way for economic unity by placing its six founding members' coal and steel in a single common market
EEC (European Economic Community)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• an international organization of nations that have cooperated to reduce and eliminate tariffs against member states and impose restrictive measures against nonmembers It is also known as the "Common Market."
EFTA (European Free Trade Association)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a loose economic organization of seven European nations created in 1959
Escalation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a term to describe an increase in military involvement and aid
Expansionism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a policy of a territory or nation whereby it attempts to extend its economic, political, and territorial influence
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• the specialized agency of the UN that deals with world problems of food supplies and improvement in farming throughout the world
FTA (Free Trade Agreement)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• between Canada and the U.S., an agreement to minimize mutual protectionist trade measures
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• an international UN organization that works to reduce tariffs
Geneva Accords	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• the peace treaty signed by the French and North Vietnamese in 1954 establishing the North and South boundaries of Vietnam until elections (which were to be held within two years) would reunite the country
Global security	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• confidence among all nations that they will not be attacked – that the world as we know it will survive
Guerrilla warfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a "hit-and-run" form of warfare often favoured by a weaker native army against the much stronger regular armed forces, usually of the government or an invader

Helsinki Accord

- an agreement reached at a conference held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1975, that marked the height of détente. The conference dealt with issues left unresolved by the **Potsdam Conference** of 1945. The Soviets gained formal recognition of east European boundaries while the U.S.A. gained concessions on human rights.

Human rights

- fundamental rights such as freedom of movement, and equality of opportunity, which are accepted as belonging to every human being, irrespective of race, colour, religion, or political beliefs

ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile)

- a ballistic missile with a range of four thousand miles or more. Modern ICBM's have a range of up to 14 500 km and need about thirty minutes to reach their targets

IMF (International Monetary Fund)

- a UN agency established in 1945 to assist countries in meeting imbalances of payments in order to facilitate greater trade

Independence

- a nation's freedom to act on its own behalf without outside interference from any other nation or group

Limited nuclear war

- a war in which full-scale nuclear exchanges are avoided by targeting military and industrial centres rather than cities. Some analysts think this might limit the scope and damage of nuclear war.

Multinational corporations

- companies centered in one country that have expanded their trade operations to many countries of the world. They maintain **branch plants** in several countries and a head office in one.

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)

- the concept that neither the U.S. or the USSR could sustain a nuclear attack and still inflict unacceptable damage on the other

Nationalism

- a strong love of country, often coupled with the desire to control other countries or to acquire freedom from the control of other countries

Neocolonialism

- a situation in which one country indirectly influences or controls a weaker country

Nonaligned nations

- countries allied with neither the communist nor non-communist blocs

Nuclear disarmament	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• the elimination of nuclear weapons around the world
Nuclear-free zone	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a geographic area which the inhabitants designate to remain free of nuclear weapons in every respect
Nuclear proliferation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• the spread of nuclear weapons “Horizontal proliferation” refers to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nations that previously had none. “Vertical proliferation” refers to increases in a nation’s nuclear arsenal.
OAU (Organization of African Unity)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• an organization of African nations that attempts to achieve unity and cooperation throughout the continent
Oligopoly	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• an economic situation in which each of a few producers affects, but doesn’t fully control, a market
One Megaton	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• about 76 times as big as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima; = 1 million tons TNT
OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• an international cartel that has considerable influence in determining supply, demand, and price of oil
Pacific Rim countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• countries such as Taiwan, Korea, China, and Japan The Pacific Rim countries are becoming a formidable economic force in the world.
Pan-African	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• promoting the interests of all peoples in Africa
Peaceful coexistence	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a policy announced in 1956 by Nikita Khrushchev advocating political rather than military competition between the superpowers
Pershing missile	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a type of U.S. ballistic missile It can be a short- or medium-range missile.
Protectionism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a government policy designed to shelter locally produced goods from less expensive imports with the goal of preserving jobs in the country
Proxy war	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a regional, limited war, often fought in and by Third World countries, in which superpowers become involved to further their interests

SALT (Strategic Arms Limitations Talks)

- a long series of negotiations (1969-1979) between the superpowers to limit the arms buildup
SALT I was signed in 1977 and provided a plan for a five-year period of limited nuclear weapons production and development; **SALT II** was accepted by the USSR but stalled by the U.S. Senate.

SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative)

- a program announced by President Reagan in 1985 to provide active defence against nuclear attack by destroying missiles from satellites in space – dubbed “Star Wars” by the press

SEATO – Southeast Asian Treaty Organization)

- a defence pact designed by the U.S.A. in 1954 to protect Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam from communist advances
 The signing went against the principles of the Geneva Accords.

Self-determination

- the right of a nation to conduct its own affairs and determine its own future

SLBM (submarine-launched ballistic missile)

- a nuclear missile that can be launched at sea

Solidarity

- an umbrella federation of trade unions in Poland that became a strong political force of ten million members led by Lech Walesa
 The union was declared illegal under martial law in 1982, but later became an official opposition party in the Polish parliament.

Sphere of influence

- territories or nations that fall under the exclusive influence of another, usually more powerful, nation

Stabilization

- a situation of decreased danger of conflict and of greater international security

Strategic weapons

- long-range missiles and bombs

Summit meeting

- conference of highest-level officials of a country or countries

Superpower

- a term applied currently to the U.S.A. and USSR to distinguish them as the most powerful nations in the world, militarily and politically

Tariff

- a tax on imported goods

Terrorism

- unlawful acts of violence committed in an attempt to overthrow a government or to promote a cause

Total nuclear war

- a war in which the nuclear powers would unleash all their nuclear weapons against their enemies
This is in contrast to the theory of limited nuclear war, which is the strategy that a small number of nuclear weapons can be used in a conflict in order to attain specific objectives.

Truman Doctrine

- a policy announced in March 1947 in which President Truman offered economic assistance to any nation willing to fight the spread of communism

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- a UN document, adopted in 1948, which spells out and vows to uphold those rights and freedoms thought to be inherent to every person

Verification

- the process of determining, through means of inspection or intelligence gathering, whether an opponent is complying with arms control agreements

WHO (World Health Organization)

- the specialized agency of the UN which deals with world health

World Bank

- an international bank for reconstruction and development
A UN agency established in 1945 to provide loans to UN member-states for economic development.

Suggested Answers

Section 1: Activity 1

1. The U.S.A. and USSR are known as superpowers.
2. Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and the U.S.A. were major powers.
3. The events were
 - for the USSR – Yalta, Potsdam
 - Soviet expansion into eastern Europe
 - growing military and economic power
 - for the U.S.A. – post-World War II power vacuum
 - greater industrial and military strength
4.
 - American commitments to play the role of policeman and champion against communism became too costly.
 - The USSR's Cold War commitments became too costly as well.
 - Both nations are having problems sustaining standards of living of their respective peoples.
5. Taking all three categories of size, population, and wealth into consideration, the two countries are clearly among the greatest in the world.
6. **USSR:**
 - size – 22 402 000 sq. km.
 - wealth – \$1212 billion GNP
 - armed forces – 3 375 000
 - nuclear weapons – 2 484
U.S.A.:
 - wealth – \$2 925.5 billion GNP
 - armed forces – 2 699 000
 - nuclear weapons – 1 854
7. Wealth, armed forces, nuclear weapons, and population are all factors that disqualify Canada.
8. (C) The superpowers are nations whose military and political power is far greater than those of any other nation of the world, which gives them a major influence on all international affairs and interactions.

Section 1: Activity 2

Effects of a One-megaton Nuclear Bomb

1. Definition of One-megaton Bomb:

a bomb equivalent in power to one million tons of TNT

2. Four Major Effects of Any Nuclear Blast:

Effect a. the flash

Detail (1) many people report “whiter than the sun”

Detail (2) can blind people 65 km away who were looking

Effect b. the heat

Detail (1) thermo-nuclear fallout – several million degrees

Detail (2) can ignite flammable materials up to 18 km away

Effect c. the blast

Detail (1) enormous pressure of air

Detail (2) shock waves will flatten anything in its path

Effect d. the radiation

Detail (1) 17 percent of bomb’s energy – very lethal

Detail (2) people exposed in danger of slow, agonizing death

3. The Devastation of a One-megaton Bomb:

Distance a. 8 km

Effect (1) complete devastation

Distance b. 20 km

Effect (1) violent fire storms (anything flammable will ignite)

Effect (2) death by asphyxiation

Distance c. 50 km

Effect (1) heavy to light building damage

- Effect (2) some burns and blisters
- Distance d. beyond 50 km
- Effect (1) effects on people from nuclear fallout for days

4. Three Ways One Could Die in a Nuclear Attack:

- A. burned to death by the heat
- B. blown apart by the blast
- C. killed by radiation sickness from the fallout

5. Stages of Radiation Sickness:

- Stage a. intense irradiation
- Characteristics (1) great pain
- (2) massive hair loss
 - (3) vomiting
 - (4) diarrhea
 - (5) massive internal hemorrhaging
- Stage b. medium irradiation
- Characteristics (1) diarrhea and vomiting
- (2) temporary recovery
 - (3) hair loss
 - (4) relapse into sickness
 - (5) internal bleeding
 - (6) lingering death
- Stage c. mild exposure
- Characteristics (1) can result in cancer twenty to thirty years later

6. Generalization:

The devastating effects of a nuclear blast come from heat, the blast, and radiation.

Section 1: Activity 3

1. The shock of a near nuclear war caused the superpowers to move into an era of increased cooperation.
2. MAD: Mutual Assured Destruction
3. Many people believe that MAD has proven to be a potent deterrent to the superpowers' attacking one another. If an attack begins with conventional forces, the conflict may still escalate to nuclear war.
4. Both superpowers believe that they must keep up in the arms race, or the side which feels it has an advantage may be tempted to attack.
5. Both superpowers entered for a time into a period of mutual tolerance.
6. "Détente" refers to the relaxation of tension between the U.S.A. and USSR and their respective allies.
7. **Stabilized:** MAD and mutual deterrence enforce a kind of stability through the balance of power.
Destabilized: The presence of nuclear capability puts the entire world in a constant state of readiness for war.

Section 1: Activity 4

1. a.



1949

- USSR explodes first nuclear bomb

b.



1963

- post-Cuban Crisis relaxed tensions
- partial Test Ban Treaty

c.



1969

- some conflicts, but Nonproliferation Treaty gives hope

d.



1972

- ratification of SALT

e.



- SALT fails to make progress
 - arms race intensifies
 - India gets the Bomb
 - accident occurs at Three Mile Island

f.



- nuclear leaders are reluctant to talk

- g. Where you set the clock will depend on current events.
2. Nuclear weapons have had a destabilizing effect on the world.
3. a. This is the “doomsday clock.”
 - b. It represents the common person.
 - c. No one wants nuclear war; everyone is afraid of it.
 - d. “Global security” is the feeling that the world will continue to exist for some time.

Section 1: Activity 5

1. MAD will deter the superpowers from attacking each other and launching a nuclear war. Disarmament will prevent nuclear war by eliminating nuclear weapons.
2. Your answer here will be personal. You may think that MAD is the only way to keep the balance of power and maintain a deterrent for the superpowers to avoid war. By contrast, you may feel that the only way to ensure peace is to eliminate the threat – i.e., to disarm completely.
3. Again your answer will be personal. You must think about likely positive and negative outcomes of MAD and disarmament.
4. a. The baby represents humanity.
 - b. It sees the dilemma: should it choose peace and disarmament or security through armed readiness?
 - c. The baby in the cartoon realizes the dilemma that we all, as individuals, must face: do we support mutual deterrence or disarmament?

Section 1: Activity 6

1. They represent the USSR and U.S.A.
2. They are riding nuclear missiles.
3. They symbolize the nuclear arms race.
4. The cartoonist is saying that the arms race is senseless and unnecessary.
5.
 - One way is by improving technology; for example, the U.S. invented the hydrogen bomb in 1952.
 - Another way is by increasing the numbers of nuclear weapons, with each side fighting to have the largest arsenal.
6. It appears that the U.S.A. tended to instigate each stage of escalation in the arms race. Have you included statistical support?
7. Their purpose has been to further their own economic, political, and ideological self-interests.
8. Each superpower is willing to escalate the arms race to
 - gain the advantage
 - prevent the other from gaining the advantage
9. **The arms race stabilizes global interactions:**
 - There must be a drive toward balance of deterrence.
 - The only way to deter is to keep up with the other superpower. Mutual deterrence has stopped, and is stopping, another world war.
 - If one side perceives superiority, it will be tempted to use nuclear weapons.

The arms race destabilizes global interactions:

- A balance through deterrence has been replaced by a balance of terror.
- The race is unnecessary; we had deterrence long ago.
- Preparing for war increases the probability of war.

10. a. (1) The bear symbolizes the USSR.
(2) The eagle symbolizes the U.S.A.
 - b. The cartoon is saying that the arms race will inevitably lead to war and destruction.
 - c. The result is destruction.
11. The idea is that mutual deterrence will not work. The superpowers will destroy the earth.
12. Your answer here will be personal. Some people believe that Canada must help test the cruise missile and other military technology because this is part of our obligation to NATO. Other people feel that if Canada is involved in the arms race
- we contribute to something that is morally wrong
 - the Warsaw Pact will add more Canadian targets to its list

Section 1: Activity 7

1. a.
 - U.S.A.
 - USSR
 - India
 - China
 - Israel
 - U.K.
 - France
- b.
 - Japan
 - Canada
 - Brazil
 - Argentina
 - Sweden
 - South Africa
 - Pakistan
- c.
 - Egypt
 - Turkey
 - Finland
 - Philippines
 - Taiwan
 - Mexico
 - Iran
 - South Korea

2.

Modern Developments in Superpower Weapons	
United States	Soviet Union
Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)	Red Shield
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• There would be an interlocking canopy of weapons that Soviet nuclear missiles could not penetrate.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The USSR is developing its own equivalent to SDI.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Missiles would be intercepted by space-station laser beams, particle-beam weapons, and air-and ground-launched missiles.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The U.S.A. is using advancing Soviet technology as an argument not to abandon SDI.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• All missiles would be destroyed before they hit U.S. cities.	

Section 1: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

Here are possible definitions. Wording, of course, will vary.

1. **Global security**: the universal feeling that the world will survive and will not suffer a nuclear war
2. **Stabilization (of international relations)**: a situation in which international relations are based on trust or mutual acceptance and tolerance and there is less danger of war
3. **Destabilization (of international relations)**: a situation in which relations are tenser and there is an increased likelihood of war
4. **Arms race**: the race for superiority in weapons among two or more nations
5. **Mutual Assured Destruction**: the belief that nuclear attacks launched by both nations will result in both nations' being destroyed
6. **Mutual deterrence**: the belief that the destructive capability and likelihood of mutual destruction will stop both superpowers from launching a nuclear attack
7. **Balance of power**: the striving of two or more nations to maintain equal military strength
8. **Nuclear proliferation**: the spread of nuclear weapons

Enrichment

1. Answers here will, of course, vary. Two possible generalizations are as follows:
 - Nuclear weapons can maintain peace through the balance of power.
 - Nuclear weapons can create confrontation by their presence.

Section 2: Activity 1

1. a. It was the peninsula south of China and west of Burma.
b. Indochina included Laos, Cambodia (Kampuchea), and Vietnam.
2. The nationalist movement, that had emerged prior to World War II, fought for independence from France – Vietnam's colonial master – after World War II and Vietnam's liberation from Japanese control.
3. a. **Colonialism**: the policy of a nation seeking to acquire, extend, or retain overseas dependencies

- b. **Nationalism:** the belief among people that the common welfare is best served by an independent government, whose policies reflect the self-determination of the nation
 - c. **Self-determination:** the right of a nation to conduct its own affairs and determine its own future
4. Ho Chi Minh was the leader.
 5. The Japanese army invaded Southeast Asia as part of Japan's expansionist policies and occupied the French colony.
 6. **Guerrilla warfare:** unconventional tactics used by an irregular army
Often, guerrillas fight on their own territory, which gives them an additional advantage over the regular enemy army.
 7. After considerable fighting, the French army was surrounded and defeated at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.
 8.
 - The independence of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam was recognized.
 - North and South Vietnam were created.
 9. The U.S. perceived that the South would vote for the communists.
 10. The Viet Cong were communist guerrillas who supported Ho Chi Minh in South Vietnam.
 11.
 - French attempts to regain control of Indochina lost to guerrillas at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.
 - The Geneva Agreement divided Vietnam into communist North and non-communist South.
 - The communist Viet Minh from the North and Viet Cong in the South pressured the South.
 - The government in the South asked for help.
 - The U.S.A. gradually became involved.
 - China and the USSR backed the North.
 12. SEATO stands for "Southeast Asian Treaty Organization." SEATO's commitment was similar to NATO's – to stop communist aggression.
 13. President Truman pledged to stop communist aggression anywhere in the world. His intention was to contain communism rather than allow it to spread any further into the rest of the world.
 14. a. A war by proxy is a limited war, often fought in a Third World country, in which superpowers become involved indirectly, through allies, to further their own interests.

b. Since the superpowers did not want to risk direct confrontation, and possible nuclear war, they fought each other through proxies.
 15. As the U.S.A. and South Vietnam made their attempt to end the War (through increased personnel, weaponry, and technology), the North and USSR met this increased commitment, thus maintaining the balance of power and escalating the War.

16. a. No.

b. There were three reasons:

- to limit the flow of supplies
- to make the North pay for its actions
- to boost morale of U.S. and allied troops in the South

17. • South Vietnam

• Laos

• Cambodia

• Thailand

• Burma

• India

• Pakistan

18. This answer will be personal. Here are samples of the reasoning you might have used.

Yes • The U.S.A. had to try to contain communism, to defend Vietnam's right to self-determination, and to prevent the domino effect in Southeast Asia.

No • Vietnam was involved in a civil conflict which was not U.S.A.'s business. Thousands of people were killed and wounded, and billions of dollars were spent.

19. The talks took place in Paris, beginning in 1973.

20. The policy involved turning the war back over to the Vietnamese people.

21. a. It ended in 1975.

b. Saigon fell and South Vietnam surrendered to the North.

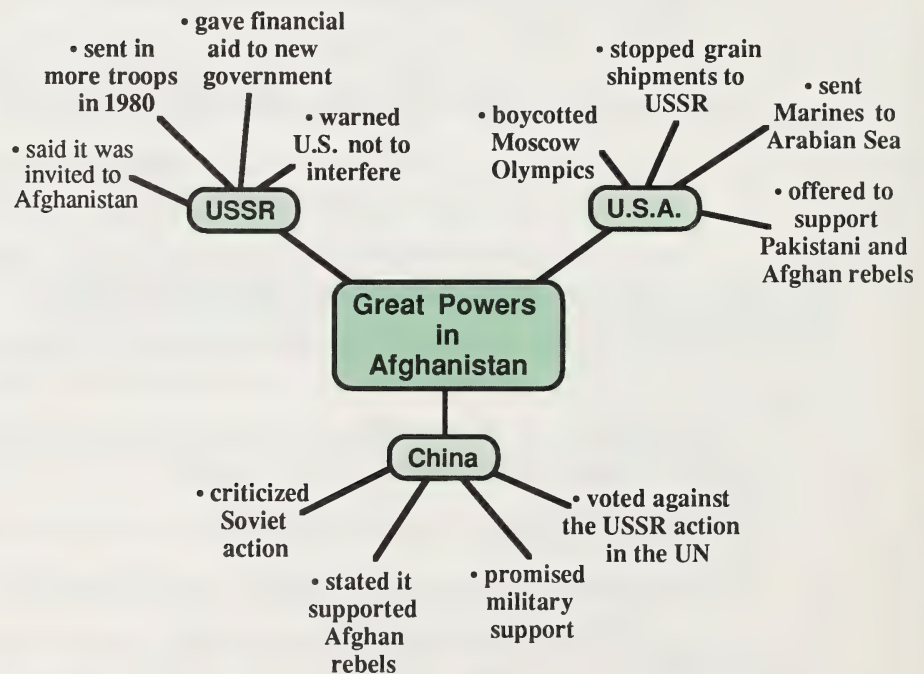
22.

Nation	Main Reason for Intervention	Explanation
U.S.A.	containment	U.S.A. believed Vietnam would be the first domino to fall in Southeast Asia; followed through on the Truman Doctrine to attempt to stop communism from spreading
USSR	balance of power	Since the U.S.A. became more involved, the USSR felt obligated to assist the North; justified its helping the North by stating that they were helping an oppressed people from dominance by a superpower (U.S.)

Section 2: Activity 2

1. The USSR liberated Czechoslovakia from the occupying German army, and Czechoslovakia then became a Soviet satellite.
2. Secret police, show trials, and exiles to concentration camps are techniques that were used.
3. Many became critical of the repressive political policies and restrictive economic policies of the government.
4. He was a reformer, elected leader of Czechoslovakia in 1968.
5. This was a period of hope for reform during the initial years of the Dubcek regime.
6.
 - a. The Brezhnev Doctrine was a pledge to help any communist regime in danger of being overthrown.
 - b. The Soviets said that Czechoslovakia's communist regime was being threatened by the reform movement.
7. Whenever one superpower increases its military might or invades another nation, the other superpower feels obligated to support the opposing side.
8.
 - a. **Sphere of influence:** Czechoslovakia, within the Soviet sphere, was important for political, economic, and strategic military reasons. It could not be lost.
 - b. **Balance of power:** The USSR felt that if it lost Czechoslovakia from its sphere of influence, this would tip the balance of power in favour of the U.S. and NATO.
 - c. **Expansionism:** The USSR embarked on a program after World War II to expand its sphere of influence further west into Europe. Satellite states were established.
9. By the end of World War II the USSR had annexed a number of eastern European countries, making them satellites of the Soviet empire. Poland was one of these satellites.
10. Exorbitant prices for staple foods and long lineups at shops were the major grievances.
11. Solidarity is a trade union that eventually became a political movement and voice of the people.
12. The Kremlin warned the Polish government to control the unrest, or the Soviet military would intervene.
13. The government declared martial law.
14. Solidarity has become a legitimate political force in Poland.

15. The USSR felt that it could not allow much self-determination in Poland as this could set a dangerous precedent for the rest of the satellites within the Soviet sphere of influence. The U.S.A. again felt obligated to give some support to the other side.
16. Even though the Afghan government was really dealing with a domestic problem over the modernizing of Muslim traditions, the USSR would not allow a popular rebellion in a country in the Soviet sphere of influence. Therefore, Afghanistan's right to self-determination was violated by the USSR.
17. Although Afghanistan is not an eastern European satellite, it borders the USSR to the south – clearly within the Soviet sphere of influence.
18. Afghanistan is important because of its geographic location near the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, and the rest of the Middle East, and its proximity to Mideast international oil supplies.
- 19.



20. The USSR has pulled out, leaving a pro-Soviet puppet government. The *mujahedeen* guerrillas are still fighting.

Section 2: Activity 3

1.

Central America

Country	Politics	The War	Human Rights
Guatemala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The U.S. assisted military dictators. • The current leader is a hard-line anticommunist. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guerrillas have fought since 1950s. • They are the best army in Central America. • The army is U.S.-trained. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than 100 000 people were murdered by government forces last decade. • No rule of law exists. • There are more than one million refugees.
El Salvador	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1984 – Duarte was elected president. • Charges of rigged elections were laid. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The guerrillas' FMLN has about 10 000 soldiers. • The well-trained army is U.S.-supported. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atrocities, deaths, and disappearances have been blamed on right-wing death squads and the army.
Honduras	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real power rests in the army. • The strong influence of the U.S. is felt. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the main base of U.S. action against the Sandinistan government in Nicaragua. • Contras operate in Honduras to attack the Nicaraguan government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Human rights are an invention to protect terrorists."
Nicaragua	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Sandinistan government replaced the Somoza family. • A directorate runs the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the prime target of U.S.-backed war efforts. • Contras are right-wing rebels fighting the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8 000 Indians were relocated. • There have been few reported abuses.

2.
 - Superpowers support opposing left and right sides in the conflicts.
 - Most conflicts are over economics – standard of living and quality of life.
 - Central America is within the U.S. sphere of influence. The U.S. resists any communist successes in this area. This often means intervening in a country's right to self-determination.
 - To maintain the balance of power, the USSR has become involved to support leftist movements.
3.
 - Canadian government aid programs
 - Ottawa-funded nongovernmental aid
 - proposal for peacekeeping plan
4. The five countries are
 - Cuba
 - Nicaragua
 - El Salvador
 - Guatemala
 - Honduras
5. The U.S.A. has always believed that the USSR wants to spread communism to the rest of the world. One of the cornerstones of American foreign policy has been containment of communism anywhere in the world. Since Americans see this as a problem in Central America, it is all the more urgent, because Central America is in the U.S. sphere of influence.
6. Grenada is in the Caribbean Sea, east of Cuba.
7. The Reagan administration believed that a communist coup was imminent.

Section 2: Activity 4

1.

Conflict	Israeli Reasons for Fighting	Arab Reasons for Fighting
Six Day War, 1967	Israel believed that Arabs would attack, so it attacked first.	Arabs wanted to regain control of territory lost in 1956 and strike a blow against Israel.
Yom Kippur War, 1973	Israel defended its acquisition of territory and established borders.	Arabs wanted to regain the West Bank and Golan Heights from Israel.
Lebanon, 1982	Israel invaded Lebanon to neutralize the PLO.	The PLO used Lebanon to strike against Israel.

- 2.
 - USSR, Syria, Lebanese Moslem militia
 - U.S.A., Israel, Lebanese Christian militia
- 3. The U.S.A. backs Israel in its ventures while the USSR backs the opposing side.
- 4. They represent the U.S.A. and USSR.
- 5. The two groups are the Arab countries and Palestinians, and Israel.

6. It is saying that by giving the belligerents support, the superpowers are perpetuating the conflict.
7.
 - a. The plans have had marginal success, if any.
 - b. Superpower involvement has as yet not contributed to peace.

Section 2: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

1.

Concept	Definition	Conflict	Justification
Sphere of Influence	a territory or nation that falls under the exclusive influence of another, more powerful nation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Czechoslovakia • Grenada 	USSR did not want Czech reform to set precedent. U.S.A. did not want a communist Grenada.
Balance of Power	an attempt to achieve equality in military capability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vietnam • Arab-Israeli Conflict 	USSR and China lent aid to North to help against U.S.A. Superpowers help opposing satellites.
Expansionism	a policy of a territory or nation whereby it attempts to extend its influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Czechoslovakia • Afghanistan 	USSR established it as a satellite. USSR established military presence in Afghanistan.
Containment	U.S. policy in the 40s to prevent communist expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vietnam • Grenada 	U.S.A. tried to stop communist expansion. U.S. invaded to stop communists from gaining power.
Self-determination	the right of a nation to conduct its own affairs and determine its own future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nicaragua • Czechoslovakia 	U.S. is interfering with Nicaraguan government. USSR interfered with reform movement.

Enrichment

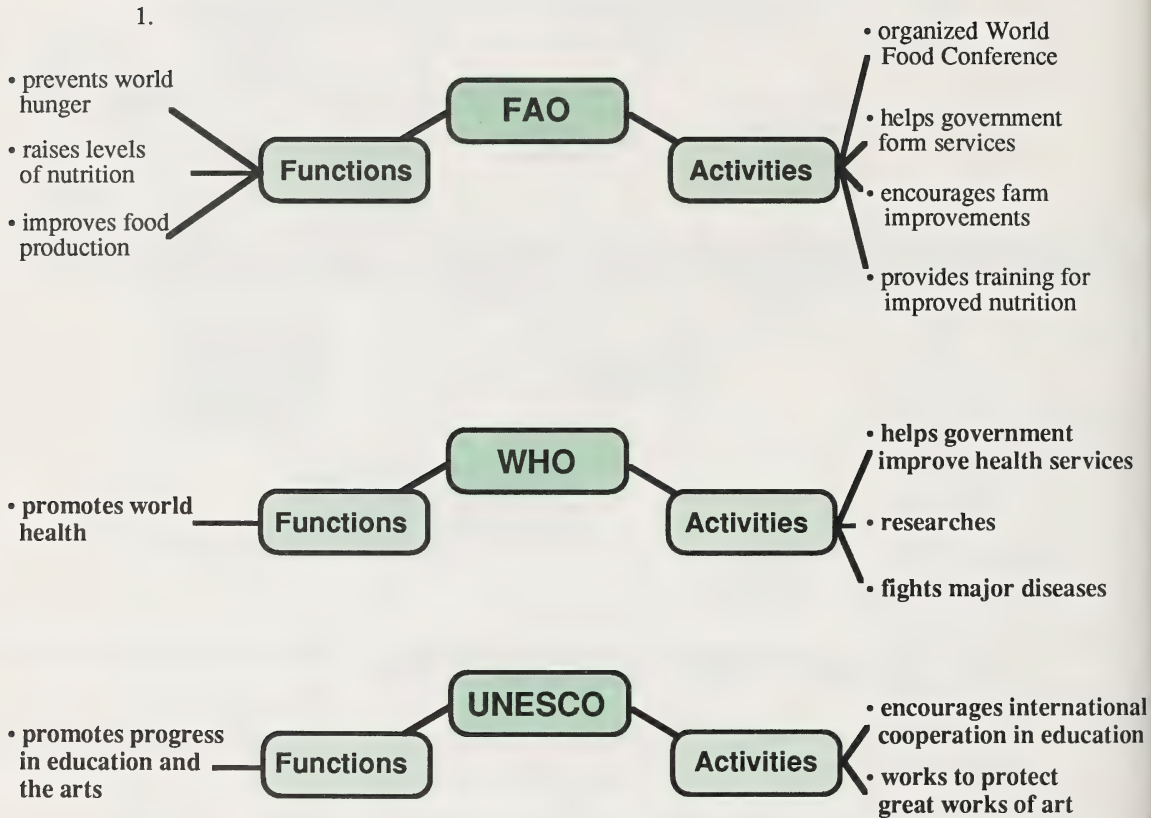
- 1. Lebanon is a country that has been torn apart by seemingly unresolvable problems and almost continuous violence. Afghanistan may be about to follow suit.
- 2.



Section 3: Activity 1

- 1. If Country A imposes tariffs on imports from Country B, other countries, especially Country B, will retaliate and place tariffs on Country A's imports.
- 2. When one nation places protectionist measures on its imports, other nations will follow the example or retaliate, restricting and discouraging free trade.
- 3.
 - Tariffs are used to protect domestic industries from international competition.
 - A country may be in debt and unable to afford any more imports.
- 4.
 - Trade barriers breed an atmosphere of suspicion and cause governments to create policies based on economic nationalism rather than internationalism.
 - Protectionism restricts the amount of trade and can cause unemployment.
 - Quarrels over trade might ultimately lead to war.
- 5. Postwar devastation in Europe and much of the world caused many leaders to seek methods to prevent another global conflict and rebuild war-torn countries. The international consensus was to work more closely toward these goals. The OEEC administered funds from the Marshall Plan and served as the predecessor of the EEC.

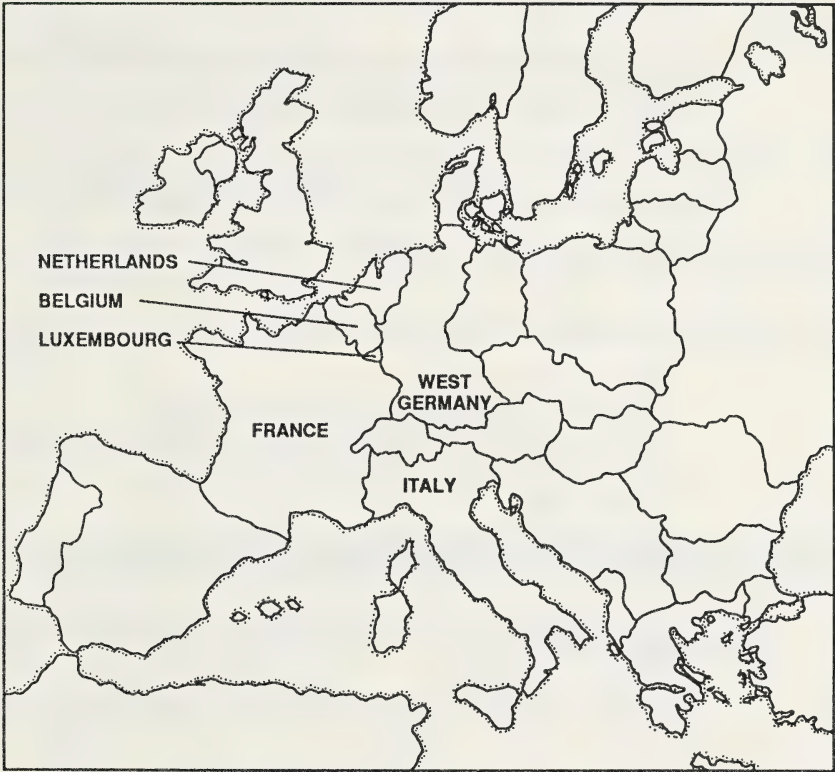
Section 3: Activity 2



- There are bigger markets for producers, this increases exports from the country.
 - Competition brings consumers lower prices.
- By working to establish the lowest possible tariffs, GATT benefits national economies, producers, and consumers.

Section 3: Activity 3

1.



2. Many west Europeans wanted
 - protection against Cold War communist aggression
 - a chance to rebuild war-torn countries
3.
 - The ESCS established a common coal and steel administration and policy.
 - Euratom provided for cooperation in atomic research.
 - The EEC abolished tariffs and protectionism and established a common agricultural policy.
4. The EFTA was the European Free Trade Association formed in 1959. This was a loose organization of nations created to minimize protectionism. It was led by Britain.
5. Britain joined in 1973.
6. The goals were as follows:
 - free trade within the EEC
 - a common customs barrier against all nonmembers
 - free movement of EEC people to all parts of the European Community
 - the Common Agricultural Policy
 - political unity
 - the European Social Fund
 - the European Investment Bank
7.
 - Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) is the communist equivalent of the Common Market.
 - ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) is the Southeast Asian common market.

Section 3: Activity 4

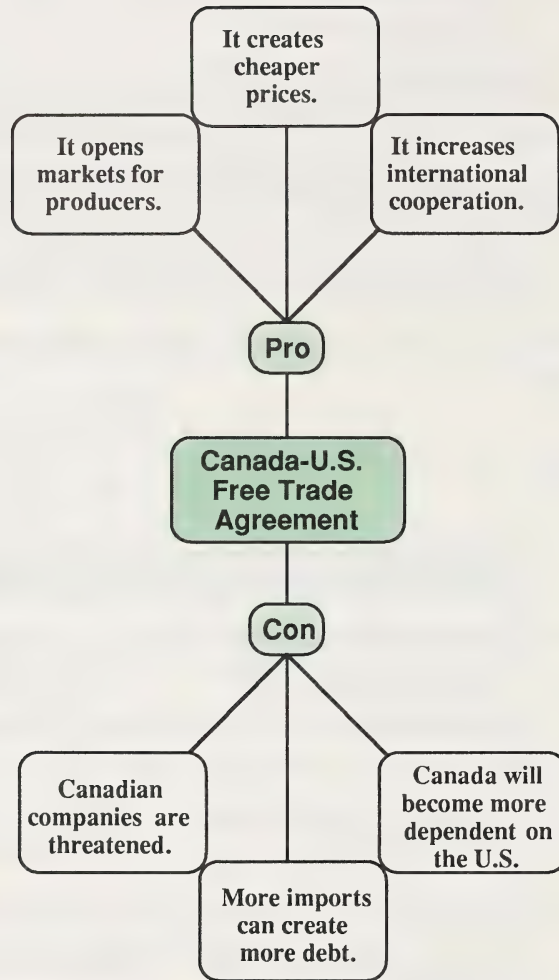
1. A multinational corporation is a company that has expanded operations to several other countries, establishing branch offices in each country.
2. Branch plants are offices, factories, and so on, that multinationals have established in other countries.

3. Five reasons for branch plants are as follows:
- expanded markets
 - cheap raw materials
 - cheap labour
 - lax pollution laws
 - more favourable tax laws
4. a. The Pacific Rim consists of the countries and colonies of Pacific Asia – Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and so on.
- b. It is an important region for multinationals because it provides a fertile environment for multinational enterprise with such things as cheap labour and favourable tax laws.
5. Several examples are Exxon, Shell, Mitsubishi, ITT, and IBM. You may well have thought of others.
- 6.

Positive Effects	Negative Effects
Multinationals transcend national boundaries and can encourage international cooperation.	Multinationals exploit countries for their raw materials.
They can bring technology to many countries.	Recipient countries rarely benefit from technology.
They provide jobs to needy countries.	Most jobs are unskilled.
They stimulate other areas of the economy through projects.	Sometimes interference with a country’s policies occurs.

Section 3: Activity 5

1.

**Section 3: Activity 6**

1. A cartel is an international group that aims at control of a particular market.
2. OPEC is an organization of nations that have cooperated to control the production of a particular commodity (oil).

3. Several Third World nations have cooperated to achieve common economic aims, thereby improving their economies.
4. OPEC has artificially increased the world price of oil. It has brought the world to depend largely upon the huge Mideast oil fields.

Section 3: Activity 7

1. They resented colonial exploitation and being treated like second-class citizens.
2. A Pan-African movement is a movement that promotes the interests of all the peoples of the continent of Africa.
3. Many European leaders believed that their nations could no longer maintain empires. They did not want to fight costly wars of independence.
4. The U.S.A. wanted capitalist democracies while the USSR wanted socialist systems.
5. Schools, roads, railways, harbours – all such things can be seen to have contributed positively to African life.
6. Negative results included such things as an absence of native leadership, little regard to needs of Africans when drawing colonial boundaries – no tradition of unity.
7. The essential is held to be economic development – the modernization of farming and industry.
8.
 - a. **What:** Pan-African cooperative organization
 - b. **When:** 1963
 - c. **Where:** Ethiopia
 - d. **Why:** to promote a sense of continental African unity as well as the independent interests of all African nations
9. The goals of OAU are to
 - promote African unity
 - encourage economic cooperation
 - settle disputes between members
 - encourage independence of all black Africans
10. Members have been reluctant to relinquish individual control. They resent interference.

Section 3: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

1.

	Cooperation	Conflict
United Nations	The UN works to prevent war, develop economies, and promote human rights among all nations.	
EEC	European countries cooperate to give one another support and improve their economies.	There may be trade wars with other nations or economic blocs.
Multinationals	Multinationals can promote cooperation among many nations.	Multinationals can create conditions which lead to the exploitation of Third World nations. This can lead to resentment and resistance.
FTA	The FTA may create closer Canada-U.S. relations.	The FTA could lead to conflict with the EEC, Pacific Rim, and so on.
OPEC	OPEC enhances the economic development of member states.	OPEC creates friction with the rest of world because of the value of oil.
OAU	The OAU may lessen political strife in Africa.	There could be conflicts between individual African nations and the OAU over intervention.

Enrichment

1. Your research project will be on the topic of your choice. Did you discover much that was of interest?

Section 4: Activity 1

1. The six powers are
 - the USSR
 - the U.S.A.
 - Britain
 - France
 - China
 - India
2. Six sites, of which you were to select four, are
 - Monte Bello Island
 - Eniwetok
 - Bikini
 - Christmas Island
 - Mururoa Atoll
 - Kara Sea
3. There has been a threat in
 - Korea
 - China
 - Cuba
4.
 - In 1958, a U.S. bomber dropped an atomic bomb on a garden in South Carolina. It did not explode.
 - In January 1966, above the coast of Spain, a U.S. Strategic Air Command B52 bomber collided with a jet tanker and crashed. Its four hydrogen bombs fell out; three fell on land, and the fourth dropped into the sea.
 - In January 1968, a B52 bomber crashed near Thule. Nuclear weapons fell into the sea. The risk was that a corroding bomb could release radioactive material into the waters around Greenland.
5. Possible conclusions are as follows:
 - The world is in a dangerous situation; the arms race puts us all in peril.
 - Nuclear war can happen too easily; we have been lucky no accidents have been fatal – yet.

6. We have come to realize that if the world is to survive, nuclear weapons must be eliminated.
7. The Cold War results in tension, threats and a war of nerves.
Confrontation is the key to understanding this concept.
Disarmament necessitates two important components – cooperation and peace.
8. Four characteristics are as follows:
 - a war of words
 - arms race
 - proxy wars
 - competition for natural resources
9. The superpower leaders realized that a total nuclear war would lead to world destruction and therefore avoided direct confrontation. Instead, they became involved in proxy wars.
10. a. A deterrent is something that prevents or discourages someone or some group from acting or proceeding by arousing fear or uncertainty.

b. Mutual deterrence is the theory, or policy, which holds that only by maintaining a military force strong enough to discourage or withstand an enemy attack is a nation able to guarantee its security.
11. An arms race results when two or more nations compete with each other for military superiority.
12. Each superpower believes it must maintain equal nuclear arsenals.
13. If one power achieves nuclear superiority, the balance of power will shift in its favour, and that power may be tempted to launch a nuclear attack against the other.
14. Soviet leader Khrushchev led the USSR to seek a more common understanding and spirit of cooperation with the U.S.A. As both superpowers came to respect mutual deterrence, they attempted to tolerate the existence of each other.
15. Both sides realized that the Cuban Missile Crisis had brought the world too close to nuclear war. Using the threat of nuclear attack was not an acceptable way to solve superpower disputes. This began a thawing period in the Cold War. A hotline was set up between Washington and the Kremlin to allow superpower leaders to communicate, deal with crises, and avoid future confrontation and nuclear threat.
16. **Disarmament:** The ultimate goal is to eliminate nuclear weapons.

Arms control: The aim is to limit the size, power, and spread of weapons systems, especially nuclear arms.

17. **ABM:** antiballistic missile (Radar and defensive weapons detect and destroy incoming offensive missiles – nuclear or nonnuclear).

ICBM: intercontinental ballistic missile (a nuclear missile with a range of 6 400 km or more)

SLBM: submarine-launched ballistic missile (a ballistic missile that can be launched at sea)

Cruise missile: a small, pilotless jet aircraft that can fly at extremely low attitudes to avoid radar detection, can deliver a nuclear weapon, and can be launched from airplanes, trucks, or submarines

18.

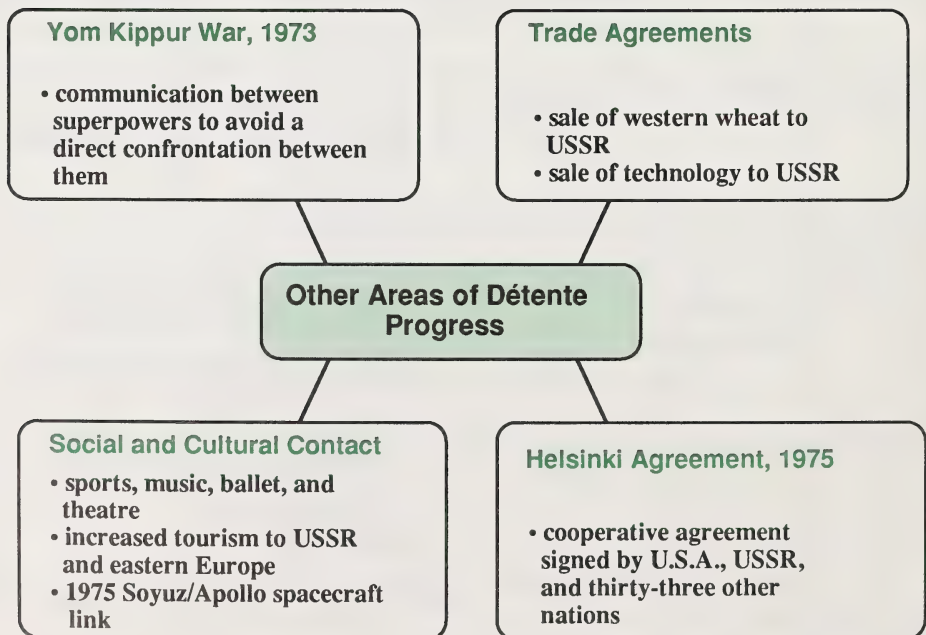
	Name and Year of Agreement	Main Provisions	Intended Effects	Actual Outcomes
Multilateral Agreements	a. Partial Test Ban Treaty – 1968	agreement to stop nuclear tests in atmosphere	to reduce fallout	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• respected by some countries• not signed by China or France
	b. Outer Space Treaty – 1967	agreement to ban nuclear weapons in space	to make space nuclear-free	used by Soviets to argue against SDI
	c. Nonproliferation Treaty – 1968	agreement not to exchange nuclear technology	to reduce the spread of nuclear arms	not signed by many powers
	d. Seabed Treaty – 1971	agreement not to place nuclear weapons on seabed beyond 20 km limit	to reduce nuclear threat at sea	
Bilateral Agreements	e. Antiballistic Missile Treaty – 1972	agreement that each superpower could deploy two weapons systems	to allow each side defence against the other	
	f. SALT I – 1972	agreement to limit number of ICBMs, SLBMs, and ABMs	to stop or slow the arms race	extended to SALT II

(chart continued on next page)

	Name and Year of Agreement	Main Provisions	Intended Effects	Actual Outcomes
Bilateral Agreements	SALT II – 1979	was to have extended control of superpowers' arms	to stop or slow the arms race	not ratified by U.S.A.
	INF Talks – 1981	intended to limit number and size of missiles in Europe	to slow arms race in Europe and Asia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • broke down in 1983 • USSR protested NATO deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles.
	START Talks – 1982	intended to limit number of long-range missiles	to slow down the arms race	
	Geneva Conference – 1985		to reduce all types of nuclear weapons	

Section 4: Activity 2

1.



Section 4: Activity 3

- 1. The Reagan administration spent \$2.4 trillion – the largest peacetime military buildup in history.
- 2. The SDI program is the Strategic Defense Initiative – a space-based missile defence shield over the U.S. that would make offensive nuclear weapons obsolete. The SDI threatens to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race.
- 3. To compete with the vast amounts of money and personnel needed for a new arms race, the Soviets would be forced to spend much more on their military. Therefore, SDI runs against Gorbachev’s primary objective of modernizing the Soviet economy (*perestroika*). To carry out these changes, Gorbachev must reduce international tensions and minimize the possibility of a superpower confrontation that could lead to nuclear war. If the threat to the Soviet Union is reduced, he can begin solving domestic problems by cutting Soviet military forces and transferring the resources to civilian uses.
- 4. To achieve his economic objectives, Gorbachev made improving Soviet-American relations a priority. The summit meetings were an attempt by the superpower leaders to negotiate controlling the arms race, especially SDI.

5.

Date	Outcome
November 1985 (Geneva Summit)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Gorbachev tried to stop costly arms race by persuading Reagan not to proceed with SDI.• Reagan linked superpower relations to arms control talks and stressed concern for human rights in Soviet involvement in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua.• It ended with few successes, but the leaders agreed to hold future summits in 1986 and 1987.
January 1986	<p>Gorbachev proposed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 50 percent reduction on Soviet and American strategic nuclear weapons by 1990 and a ban on SDI for eight years• elimination of all intermediate-range missiles in Europe• reduction after 1990 of more intermediate missiles and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons• elimination in final phase (1995) of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000
October 1986 (Reykjavik, Iceland)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Gorbachev proposed eliminating all Soviet and American nuclear forces if U.S. accepted limits on SDI.• Reagan refused to release his commitment to SDI and stopped the possibility of eliminating all nuclear arms.• Reagan and Gorbachev agreed to cut 50 percent of all strategic missiles in five years and totally abolish them in ten years.• All intermediate-range missiles (Intermediate Nuclear Forces or INF) were to be removed from Europe and those outside Europe were to be negotiated
March 1987	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Gorbachev announced that he was prepared to include a separate INF agreement without delay.• USSR agreed to U.S. “zero-option” demand – no intermediate missiles in Europe. This meant larger Soviet reductions than American.• USSR for the first time allowed on-site verification of arms reduction.

(chart continued on next page)

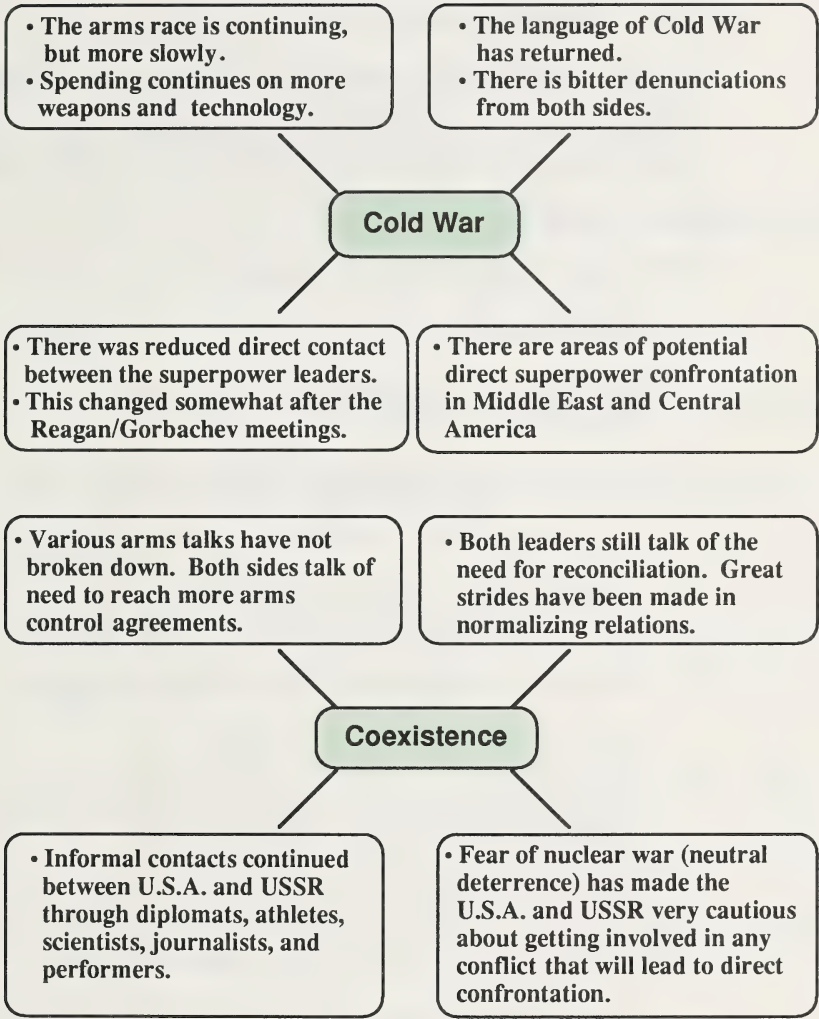
Date	Outcome
December 1987	<p>December 1987 – Washington, D.C.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • INF Treaty was signed – the first superpower agreement to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. • INF Treaty provides for dismantling all American and Soviet medium- and short-range missiles. It has improved the tone of superpowers relations. • Because INF Treaty called for such a small net reduction of nuclear arms, a major effort was made to make progress on START, which was going on at the same time as INF talks. • Still unable to agree on SDI, START was handed back to negotiators. • Without INF in Europe, conventional forces in Europe (in which the Warsaw Pact is superior) would be needed.
June 1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • START was not ready for signing • Differences continued. • Gorbachev pressed Reagan to limit SDI, but Reagan refused.

6. The following events damaged détente:

- American belief that Soviets were gaining the advantage in arms control talks.
- mutual suspicion and difficulty in verifying reductions
- Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
- American criticism of Soviet human rights violations
- NATO deployment of new nuclear weapons in western Europe, which led USSR to withdraw from INF talks
- Reagan administration's rearmament, which escalated the arms race

7. The Gorbachev/Reagan and Gorbachev/Bush rapprochement – summit meetings and mutual visits – renewed hope.

8.



9. The three paths are

- superpower war
- nuclear war through proliferation: countries other than the superpowers, such as a Third World country, could start a nuclear war
- nuclear terrorism: terrorists could either hold governments hostage or ignite a total war

10. A likely conclusion seems to be that we must control the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all countries and especially to terrorists.

11. Here is a precise, technical definition:

A “nuclear-free zone” is any well-defined geographical area, regardless of size, in which no nuclear weapons shall be produced, transported, stored, processed, disposed of, or detonated. Neither shall any facility, equipment, supply, or substance for their production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal, or detonation be permitted within its borders.

Section 4: Activity 4

1. Human rights are rights thought to belong to people simply because they are human.
2. Some possible answers are
 - the USSR • Argentina
 - El Salvador • Israel
3. It is a list of human rights adopted by the UN in December, 1948.
4. In your answer, you should have referred to any three of the following:
 - All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
 - Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
 - No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
 - No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
 - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.
 - Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
 - Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.
 - Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.
5.
 - a. “Amnesty” means a general pardon by which a government absolves offenders.
 - b. Amnesty International works worldwide to gain the pardon of prisoners of conscience and to eliminate all torture and mistreatment.
6. Probably the best rights to list would be three of these four:
 - No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
 - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

However, you may also have mentioned some of these:

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
 - Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
 - No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
 - Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
7. The goal of AI is ultimately to stop governments from imprisoning and mistreating prisoners of conscience, prisoners of religion, and innocent people.
 8. The two methods are
 - to publicize specific stories of real people who are experiencing, or have experienced, loss of their human rights at the hand of a repressive regime. No government likes to be known as oppressive and brutal. This kind of publicity gains the release of many political prisoners.
 - to target specific individuals monthly so that AI members all over the world can write letters to governments that have arrested those individuals. AI urges its members to write letters on behalf of these target prisoners. They instruct members to demand the release of these prisoners politely but firmly. This has been a very successful method.
 9. Humanitarianism is the concern for human welfare as expressed in the desire for social reform. AI works to pressure all governments and peoples of the world to respect human welfare.
 10. In 1975, thirty-five communist and non-communist nations, including the superpowers, met in Helsinki to establish a program to protect human rights, including freedom of speech, religion, and movement all over the world.
 11. A program was established at Helsinki to
 - reunite families
 - guarantee marriages between citizens of different states
 - allow freedom of travel and tourism
 - protect the circulation of information
 - promote cultural cooperation
 12. In 1975, the UN published the Covenant on Human Rights, which is now legally binding in forty-five countries, including Canada. This Covenant establishes standards for human rights in action.

13. The Covenant establishes standards for signatories to respect in such areas as working conditions, trade unions, social security, protection of the family, standards of living and health, freedom of movement, and equality before the law.
14. Many countries have not signed. Abuses of human rights remain in many of the world's countries. Amnesty International will provide up-to-date information on request.

Section 4: Activity 5

1.

Problem	Cause	Effect
Population Explosion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • better health care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lower death rates, higher birthrates
Pollution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • industrial waste 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • toxic air, water, and land
Resource Depletion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • use for industrial and domestic consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • limited energy and raw material supplies
Urbanization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more people moving to cities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pollution, sanitation, and health problems • loss of fertile land
Destruction of Land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • climatic change • destruction of habitat • over-farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • loss of arable land on which to grow food
Desertification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expanding desert 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • loss of arable land
Deforestation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • destruction of Amazon rain forests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • desertification • reduction in amount of oxygen
Ozone Layer Depletion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • breakdown of ozone by CFCs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ultraviolet rays = more cancers
Nuclear Power Accidents		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • radiation emissions • radiation sickness and birth defects
Greenhouse Effect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased concentration of CO₂ in atmosphere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • warmer temperatures • dry weather • poorer crops
Food Supply Problems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • population explosion, pollution, greenhouse effect, land destruction, and so on 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • starvation • undernourishment • malnourishment

Section 4: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

1. A confrontation in which only a limited number of nuclear weapons were used would be called a limited war.
2. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy used the dangerous policy of brinkmanship to force the USSR to back down.
3. When two or more nations compete in building up military superiority, they can be said to be involved in an arms race.
4. The belief that the elimination of weapons will in itself remove the main causes of conflict is the basic philosophy behind disarmament.
5. In 1967 over sixty nations signed the Outer Space Treaty, banning nuclear weapons in space.
6. SALT stands for Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.
7. The small, pilotless U.S. jet aircraft, capable of carrying nuclear warheads while flying at low altitudes so as to avoid radar detection, is called the cruise missile.
8. An agreement made between two nations is a bilateral agreement.
9. The relaxation of tensions between the two superpowers is known as détente.
10. In 1975, the Helsinki Accord was signed by the superpowers and thirty-three other nations in Finland.
11. The current Soviet policy of openness is known as glasnost.
12. Former President Reagan's proposed space-based nuclear missile shield over the U.S. is known as the Strategic Defense Initiative.
13. A geographic area that declares itself to be unwilling to tolerate nuclear weaponry on its territory is called a nuclear-free zone.
14. Rights felt to belong to all people simply by virtue of their humanity are called human rights.
15. In 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in order to protect these basic rights.
16. The organization that works to protect human rights by publicizing abuses of such rights is Amnesty International.

17. The process of fertile land becoming desert-like is called desertification.
18. The ozone layer has been damaged principally by the production of chemical chlorofluorocarbons.
19. The greenhouse effect is caused principally by the increased concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.
20. The term "Cold War" is usually contrasted with "peaceful coexistence."

Enrichment

1. Your research project will of course, reflect your own interests. Remember, being aware of environmental problems is only the first step. The follow-up is to **do** something about them.

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